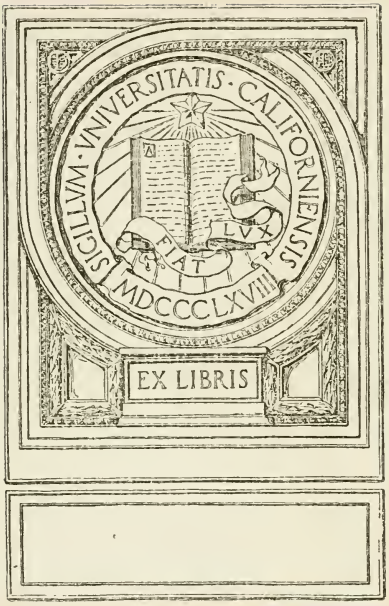
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AN

HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ACCOUNT

OF THE FORMULARIES,

Confessions of Faith,

OR

SYMBOLIC BOOKS,

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC,

GREEK, AND PRINCIPAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE HORÆ BIBLICÆ,

AND INTENDED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THAT WORK, AND TO THE SYLLOGE CONFESSIONUM, SUB TEMPUS REFORMANDÆ ECCLESIÆ EDITARUM, PRINTED IN 1804, AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED FOUR ESSAYS.

I. A succinct historical account of the Religious Orders of the Church of Rome.
II. Observations on the Restriction imposed by the Church of Rome on the general Reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue.
III. The Principles of Roman-catholics in regard to God and the King, first published in 1684, and since often reprinted.
IV. On the Reunion of Christians.

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1816.

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis, conceditur temporis ; quantum aliis tempestivis conviviis, quantum aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero.

Cic. pro Archia.

Le Changement d'étude est toujours un délassement pour moi.

D'Aguesseau.

TO

THOMAS STONOR, ESQUIRE,

OF

STONOR,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS OBLIGED,

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

I. HORÆ BIBLICÆ, Part the First;—being a connected series of Notes on the Text and Literary History of the Bibles, or sacred Books of the Jews and Christians. Fourth Edition.

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A complete Edition of all the above-mentioned works, and Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, in the reigns of Lewis the XIVth., Lewis the XVth., Lewis the XVIth., and the French Revolution; and a Volume of Miscellaneous Tracts, are now printing by W. Clarke and Sons, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn.

Introduction.

The constitutions of the Roman-Catholic and Protestant Churches, differ in nothing more, than in the following important points: The Catholic Church acknowledges the authority of the scriptures, and, in addition to them, a body of traditionary law: she receives both under the authority, and with the interpretation of the Church; and she believes that the authority of the Church in receiving and interpreting them, is infallible. The Protestant churches acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter of the scriptures, but the understanding and conscience of the individual who peruses them.

That the Roman Catholic Church should propound a formulary of her faith, enlarge it, from time to time, as further interpretation is wanted, and enforce acqui-

escence in it by spiritual censures, is consistent with *her* principles. Whether such a pretension can be avowed without inconsistency by any Protestant Church, has been a subject of much discussion. In point of fact, however, no Protestant Church is without her formulary, or abstains from enforcing it by spiritual censures. To enforce their formularies by civil penalties, is inconsistent with the principles of every Christian Church. All churches howsoever have enforced, and blamed the others for so enforcing them.

Such formularies, from the circumstance of their collecting into one instrument, several articles of religious belief, are generally known on the Continent by the appellation of Symbolic Books. To give some account of the principal of these formularies, is the object of these pages.

The following order is preserved in them: They begin with the Symbolic Books of the *Roman Catholic Church*, as the church from which all other churches have separated. They then proceed to the Symbolic Books of the *Greek Church*, as the church nearest to her in antiquity. After this, they proceed to the Symbolic Books of the *Protestant Churches* comprehending, under that word, all the churches which, at the period of the Reformation, or subsequently to it, have separated from the Roman Catholic Church. They are here considered under the

known division of the *Lutheran* and *Reformed* Churches; the former division embraces the churches which profess the creed expressed in the confession of Augsburgh; the latter embraces the churches which adhere to the doctrines of Calvin. Sometimes, and particularly in England, the term "Reformed," is generally used as standing in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church: but it is more accurately used, for the common denomination of the *Calvinistic* churches on the Continent. In this sense, it was first assumed by the French Calvinistic reformers, and passed from them to the members of the other churches of the same or a similar creed. From their differing from the Lutheran churches on the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist, they acquired the appellation of *Sacramentarians;* and, from some circumstance which has not been yet ascertained, they received in France the name of *Hugonots.* The work then proceeds to the Symbolic Books of the *Waldenses* and *Bohemians.* The separation of the members of these sects from the Church of Rome may be traced to the ninth century, but they do not fall within the subject of these pages till their fraternization with Protestant churches. The account of the churches on the Continent closes with the "Articuli Visitatorii" of Saxony, as presenting, under a few heads, what the framers of them considered to constitute the chief doctrinal points in difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches.

The Symbolic Books of the *Arminians* and *Socinians* then come under consideration; a page is then assigned to the *Unitarians*. The reader is then conducted to Great Britain; and the Symbolic Books of the national *Church of England* and those of the *Presbyterian, Independent,* and *Baptist* churches are successively noticed. After which, some mention is made of the Symbolic Books of the *Churches of Scotland and Ireland;* and of the Symbolic Books of the *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*.

Thus, the following pages will be found to give some account of

Some observations follow on the

Some account is then given of the

Under this head are considered

APPENDIX.

FOUR ESSAYS.

A Translation of Fénélon's Letter, mentioned in the Second of these Essays, has lately been published, by the Reverend Edward Peach, Pastor of St. Chad's Chapel, Birmingham; printed for Andrews, Orange Street, Red Lion Square.

CHAPTER I.

The Symbolic Books received by all Christian Churches, and some Observations on the Symbol of St. Athanasius.

All Christian Churches receive the Symbol of the Apostles, and the Nicene Symbol.

As the Symbol of St. Athanasius is received by the Roman-Catholic, and many other Christian Churches, some mention of it, in this place, seems proper.

I. 1.

The Symbol of the Apostles.

The first of the Christian Creeds in antiquity, confessedly is, the Symbol of the Apostles. On the origination of it, there are different opinions: some writers have supposed, that the Apostles, before their dispersion, agreed on its several articles. An ancient tradition, recorded by Rufinus, mentions, that each of the Apostles contributed to it a sentence; and a writer, under the name of St. Austin, proceeds so far as to assign to each Apostle, the article, which he contributed. This tradition, and still more the improvement on it, have greatly the air of a fable: and even the opinion, which generally attributes the symbol to the Apostles, is open to serious objection. If it were their composition, it seems unaccountable, that it should not be

mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; that no reference to it should be found in any of the apostolic epistles; that it was not included among the canonical writings; and that, when the Council of Ephesus, and afterwards the Council of Chalcedon, proscribed all creeds, except the Nicene, neither of them excepted the Symbol of the Apostles from the general proscription. Without discussing any of these opinions, it is sufficient for the present purpose to state, in the words of Mr. Grabe, adopted by Mr. Bingham, (Ecc. Ant. Book x. l. 4.) " that the Symbol of the Apostles unquestionably contains the Articles of Faith solemnly professed by the first Christians, in their Confessions, in the Apostles' days, by their authority, or at least with their approbation." It has been called by several titles. In the course of time, it acquired the name, both in the Eastern and in the Western Churches, of the Symbol of the Apostles; but in England it is more frequently called the Apostles' Creed.

I. 2.

The Nicene Symbol.

This ancient and important document of Christian Faith, in its original form, was published by the Council of Nice. It was enlarged by the second general Council of Constantinople. As it was settled at that Council, the form of it is the same as that, which is used in the Roman-Catholic and Protestant liturgies. At an early period, the word *Filioque*, to express the procession of the Holy Ghost, both from the Father and the Son, was inserted in it, by the Latin Church. It is recited in the first Council of Bracara, in 411; and in the third Council of Toledo, in 589.

I. 3.

The Symbol of St. Athanasius.

The Symbol, which bears the name of St. Athanasius, has its place in the Roman-Catholic and some Protestant liturgies.

Whether St. Athanasius were the author of it, has been disputed with great erudition, by the learned of both communions. It is observable, 1st, that in his epistle to the people of Antioch, St. Athanasius explicitly declares, that, " perfectly acquiescing in the Nicene Symbol, it had never entered into his mind, to form a creed of his own;" 2dly, that the creed does not contain the word " consubstantial," which, it is difficult to suppose, St. Athanasius would not have used; and 3dly, that some articles in it seem counter positions to the subsequent heresies of Nestorius, Eutyches and the Monothelites. These seem strong arguments to show that St. Athanasius could not be its author.

CHAPTER II.

The Symbolic Books of the Roman-Catholic Church.

The most important part of the Traditionary Law of the Roman-Catholic Church, consists of the Decrees of her General, or Œcumenical Councils. In the earliest ages of Christianity, the Christian prelates frequently assembled: their assemblies were called Councils. When the assembly consisted of the Bishops of one or more provinces, it was said to be a provincial council; when all the Prelates of Christianity were convened, it was said to be a general or œcumenical council. Such councils have been often held. The subject of these pages confines them: I. To the Council of Trent.—This will lead us to mention II. The Creed of Pope Pius the 4th; and III. The Roman Catechism.

II. 1.

The Council of Trent.

Those who wish to form an accurate notion of the history of this important Council, will find it useful to consider successively, 1st, The events, which took place, from the first general agitation of the measure, till the opening of the Council; 2dly, Its proceedings from its opening till its first suspension; 3dly, Its proceedings from its second opening, till its second suspension; 4thly, Its proceedings from its third opening, till its conclusion; 5thly, Its conclusion; 6thly, Its historiographers; —and 7thly, Its reception by the Catholic states of Europe.

1. *The Assembly of a General Council* was first seriously agitated during the pontificate of Clement the 7th. Two opinions were entertained of the prudence of the measure. Its advocates contended, that the state of the public mind, in every thing which respected religion, imperiously called for a decision of the Church on the points in dispute; and for a general regulation of her discipline: Its opposers contended, that the minds of men were in too great a ferment, to make it probable, that the members of the Protestant Churches would acquiesce in the decrees of the Council; and that, if they did not acquiesce, the distinction between them and the Church of Rome would be indelibly marked, and preclude every hope of a future union: but that, if matters were permitted to remain for some time in their unsettled state, the violence of party would insensibly abate, and a time arrive, when healing measures might have their effect. This was the language of the Chancellor l'Hopital, the President de Thou, and many other distinguished personages; and Pope Clement himself, when he found there was no hope of obtaining the previous obedience of the Protestant Churches to the Council, seems to have inclined to this opinion.

On the death of Clement, in 1534, Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope under the name of Paul the 3d. From the moment of his election he made strenuous exertions to procure the assembly of the Council; but, from every side, he met with resistance. It was found difficult to fix, even on the place of meeting. Mantua was first thought of; but the Duke of Mantua insisted on conditions, with which the Pope could not honourably comply. The emperor Charles the fifth wished the Council to sit in Germany. To this Francis the first, the emperor's great antagonist, would not consent: at length, the city of Trent was fixed upon; but the incessant wars between the emperor and Francis still procrastinated the meeting. Peace was concluded between the monarchs in 1544. Some difficulties, however, still continued, and retarded the Council.

2. At length, on the 13th of December, 1545, eleven years after the election of Pope Paul the third, *the Council opened.* The matters for the discussion of the assembly were proposed

by the Legates of the Holy See; then discussed, first in separate, and afterwards in full, congregations. They were finally decreed at the sittings of the Council. Little was done in the three first sessions; but, in the four subsequent sessions, the points respecting the Canon of the holy books, Original Sin, Free Will, Justification, the Sacraments in general, and Baptism and Confirmation in particular, were decided. An epidemical disorder breaking out at Trent, the Council, at its eighth session, translated itself to Bologna. The ninth and tenth sessions were held in that city; but nothing was decided in either of them, and the Pope, being then very aged and infirm, suspended its proceedings. He died in 1549.

3. With infinite difficulty, Julius the third, the immediate successor of Paul, effected *the second opening of the Council*, on the first of May, 1551. The eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth sessions were held during his Pontificate. The two first of these sessions were employed in preparatory proceedings. In the fourteenth and fifteenth, the Council propounded the Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist, Penance, and Extreme Unction. At the fifteenth, the Protestants were invited to the assembly with an offer of safe conduct. At the sixteenth, the Council again broke up in consequence of the war in Germany.

4. Julius the third died in 1555. He was succeeded by Marcellus the second. The Pontificate of Marcellus lasted only one month, and he was succeeded by Paul the fourth, of the illustrious house of Caraffa, the Dean of the Sacred College.—Much was expected from him; but, in 1559, he died without having re-assembled the Council. The Cardinal de Medicis, by whom he was succeeded, under the name of Pius the fourth, exerted himself, with success, in effecting a third re-assembly of the Council, and bringing it to a conclusion. By an uncommon union of prudence, zeal and moderation, he effected his object, and *the third opening of the Council* took place on the 18th of January, 1562. On that day, the seventeenth sessions of the Council met: and it was attended by several Cardinals and by 102 bishops. On the 18th, the Censure of Heretics was discussed,

and a safe conduct granted to Protestants. Nothing was decided at the eighteenth and nineteenth sessions. At the twenty-first, the Council decided upon Communion under both kinds; at the twenty-second, on the Sacrifice of the Mass; at the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, on the Sacraments of Holy Orders and Matrimony; and, on the twenty-fifth, on Purgatory, Devotion to Holy Images, the Invocation of Saints, and Indulgences.

5. Here, *the Council closed.* Its decrees were signed by 255 fathers: four of these were Legates of the Holy See; two, Cardinals; three, Patriarchs; twenty-five, Archbishops; one hundred and sixty-eight, Bishops; thirty-nine, deputies of absent Prelates; seven, Abbots; and seven were Generals of Religious Orders. It was subscribed on separate Schedules, by the Embassadors of the Catholic Sovereigns.

It was earnestly wished by the Pope and the Roman Catholic states, that the Protestant Princes and their Divines should attend the council; but they insisted on a deliberative voice: this the council uniformly refused. On this point the negociation between them unfortunately failed; and, in a Consistory, held on the 26th of January, 1564, the Pope, having taken, in the usual form, the advice of the Cardinals, confirmed the proceedings of the council. He died in the following year, and was succeeded by Pius the Fifth.

That a considerable proportion of the Prelates, by whom the council was attended, were distinguished by learning, virtue, and enlightened zeal for religion, has never been denied. Perhaps no civil or religious meeting ever possessed a greater assemblage of moral, religious, and intellectual endowment.

6. In the different atmospheres of Venice and Rome, *the History of the Council of Trent* has been written by the celebrated Fra Paolo, a concealed Calvinist, (the translation of whose work, with notes, by Dr. Courayer, is more valued than the original) and by Cardinal Pallavicini, a Jesuit. The Cardinal does not dissemble, that some of the deliberations of the council were attended with intrigues and passion; and that their effects were visible in various incidents of the council: but he

contends, that there was an unanimity in all points, which related to doctrine, or the reformation of manners: and Dr. Courayer, in the Preface to his translation, concedes, "that in what regarded discipline, several excellent regulations were made, according to the ancient spirit of the church;" and observes, that "though all the disorders were not reformed by the council, yet, if we set aside prejudice, we may with truth acknowledge, that these were infinitely less than they were before." The classical purity, and severe simplicity of the style, in which the decrees of the council are expressed, are universally admired; and are greatly superior to the language of any part of Justinian's law.

In what concerns faith or morals, *the decrees of the council have been received* without any restriction, by every Roman Catholic kingdom: all its decrees have been received by the Empire; Portugal; the Venetians, and the Duke of Savoy, without an *express* limitation. They have been received by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Sicilians, with a caution as to such points of discipline, as might be derogatory to their respective sovereignties. But the council was never published in France. No attempt was made to introduce it into England. Pope Pius the Fourth sent the acts of the council to Mary Queen of Scots, with a letter, dated the 13th of June, 1564, urging her to have the decrees of the council published in her dominions; but nothing appears to have been done in consequence of it. *See Histoire de la Reception du Concile du Trente, dans les différens Etats Catholiques:* Paris, 2 Vols. 8vo. 1766.

The acts of the council were deposited in the Vatican, and are said to have been removed from it to the Institut National, at Paris, by the order of Buonaparte. The canons and decrees of the councils, with the title, *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini,* were published at Rome twice, in the year 1564, in one volume folio, and have since been reprinted in every form. Both the editions of 1564 are great typographical curiosities; but the first of them is incomparably the greatest.

II. 2.

The Symbol of Pius the Fourth.

A succinct and explicit summary of the doctrine contained in the canons of the council of Trent, is expressed in the creed which was published by Pius the Fourth in 1564, in the form of a Bull, and usually bears his name. It is received throughout the whole Roman Catholic church: every Catholic who is admitted into the Catholic church, publicly reads and professes his assent to it.

The tenor of it is as follows: " I N. believe and profess, with a firm faith, all and every one of the things which are contained in the Symbol of Faith, which is used in the Holy Roman Church, viz.

" I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*, and was made man, was crucified also for us under *Pontius Pilate*, suffered, and was buried, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the Living and the Dead, of whose Kingdom there will be no end: And in the Holy Ghost the Lord and Life-Giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son: Who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke by the Prophets. And one holy Catholic and Apostolic church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins, and I expect the resurrection of the body, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

" I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and eccle-

siastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church.

" I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the Holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

" I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven Sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one; viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony, and that they confer grace; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

" I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the Catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above said Sacraments.

" I receive and embrace all and every one of the things, which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

" I profess likewise, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic church calls transubstantiation.

" I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire, Christ and a true Sacrament is received.

" I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

" Likewise that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honored and invocated, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

" I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the

Mother of God ever Virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honor and veneration are to be given to them.

" I also affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church; and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

" I acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

" I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the church.

" This true Catholic Faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I N. promise, vow, and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. Amen."

II. 3.

The Catechism of the Council of Trent.

The council of Trent had recommended to the Pope to publish a catechism. By the Pope's recommendation, a catechism was composed, under the direction of Cardinal Borromæo, by several eminent theologians, principally by Father Francis Foreiro, a Dominican Friar, who had attended the council, in quality of Theologian to the King of Portugal. The style was afterwards polished by Julius Poggiani. It is indifferently called the *Catechism of the Council of Trent, the Roman Catechism, and the Catechismus ad Parochos.*

It was first published at Rome, in one volume octavo, by Paulus Manutius, under the title " *Catechismus Romanus, ex*

decreto Concilii Tredentini, ad parochos, Pii V. Pontificis Maximi, editus." It is recommended by the erudition, exactness, and conciseness, with which it is written; and by the neatness and elegance of its style. It is, perhaps, the best work which a person, who seeks to obtain a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the Roman Catholic creed, can peruse.

II. 4.

Bossuet's Exposition of the Faith of the Catholic Church, in matters of Controversy.

The unqualified approbation, which this work has received from the universal body of the Roman-Catholic Church, gives it a place among, or at least, very near to, her Symbolic books.

In his controversies with Protestants, Bossuet thought he observed, that the chief obstacle to their conversion to the Roman-Catholic religion, arose from their mistaken notions of her doctrines: it therefore appeared to him, that he might greatly facilitate their conversion, by composing a full, but concise, exposition of the Roman-Catholic faith.

It was a work of long and profound meditation. When finished, he caused twelve copies of it to be printed, and circulated them among the prelates and theologians, by whose opinion and advice he considered it most likely he should be benefited. They returned the copies to him with their written remarks. These he weighed with great attention, and finally, in December, 1671, gave to the public the Immortal Work. It was accompanied by the formal approbation of the Archbishop of Rheims, and ten other bishops. Cardinal Bona, the oracle of the Roman See, to whom Bossuet sent it, wrote him a letter, commending it in the warmest terms of approbation. It was translated into every European language.

" Nothing," to use the words of the Bishop of Alais, in his recent Life of Bossuet, (L. III. S. 14.), " can be compared to the sensation which it excited in every part of Christian Europe,

Never, since the Council of Trent, had there been seen a consent, so unanimous, of all the Catholic churches, to adopt a common expression, in the profession of their opinions. Bossuet's exposition so simple, so clear, and so luminous, of the religious tenets of the Roman church, was an answer to all the imaginary charges, which had been brought against her doctrine, her discipline, and her institutions." Several protestants declared, that nothing was wanting to it, but to be avowed; and that if it should be universally approved by the theologians of the church of Rome, they should lose their repugnance to their re-union with the Roman-Catholic church.

Other Protestants represented the work differently. Their representation cannot be expressed better, than in the language of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.—" In the Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine," says that celebrated writer, in the Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, " Bossuet assumes with consummate art, the tone of candour and simplicity: and the ten-horned monster is transformed, by his magic touch, into a milk-white hind, who must be loved as soon as seen."

Three answers to it were published: one by M. de la Bastide; another by M. Noguier; and a third by M. de Brueys; all of them calvinists of distinction. They agreed in accusing Bossuet of " a disingenuous softening of the real doctrine of the Roman-Catholic church." They hinted, " how much they desired, that all the members of the church of Rome, should hold the opinions and use the language of Bossuet: this," they observed, " would be a happy commencement of reformation:" but they remarked, that " this was far from being the case;" that " no opinion upon the work had been pronounced by the Pope;" that " it had not even been approved of by the Sorbonne."

But, in due time, this opinion was pronounced, and this approbation obtained. In 1679, Pope Innocent expressed his approbation of it, in two briefs, which he addressed to Bossuet; and, in 1682, it was unanimously approved by the general assembly of the French clergy, which was held in that year at Paris. Father Maimbourg stands a solitary instance of dis-

approbation by a Roman-Catholic; and his disapprobation is no more than a general sneer.

With the approbations which we have mentioned, a 6th edition of the Exposition was printed at Paris, in 1686. From this edition, all the subsequent editions have been printed.

One of the twelve copies printed by Bossuet for private circulation, fell into the hands of Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury. Perceiving that it varied, in some respects, from the subsequent editions, Doctor Wake announced the discovery to the public, and deposited the copy, thus fallen into his hands, among the archives at Lambeth. It was immediately reported, that " the copy was, in reality, the original edition;" that " the Sorbonne had disapproved of it;" that " in consequence of this disapprobation, the edition had been called in, a second published, with important variations, and imposed on the public as the first." Bossuet was informed of these reports by a letter from Father Johnstone, a Benedictine Monk. He replied to the Father by a letter, of the 26th May, 1686. He mentions in it the circumstance of the impression of twelve copies for private circulation among his friends, in the manner in which this has been related; he peremptorily denies, that the work had been censured by the Sorbonne, or any individual catholic; he explicitly declares, that no edition had been given to the public, before that which he announced as the first; and unequivocally asserts, that there was no important variation between the copy produced by Dr. Wake, and the copies in general circulation. In reply to the work itself, and in vindication of the charge of disingenuousness, which he had brought against Bossuet, Dr. Wake published his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England.* He prefixed to it, " A Collection of some of those passages that were corrected in the first edition of the *Exposition* suppressed by Monsieur de Meaux." This work was answered by, *A Vindication of Bossuet's Exposition.* Dr. Wake replied to the Vindication, by *A Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England.* To that, there was a *Reply.* In answer to that reply, Doctor Wake published " *His second Defence:*" and to his second Defence, there was

published, "*A full Answer.*" Here the controversy appears to have closed.

In the life of Bossuet, (*L.* III. *Pieces Justificatives, N.* I.) the Bishop of Alais has inserted all the Variations pointed out by Dr. Wake. After perusing and examining these alleged Variations, either as they are given by Dr. Wake, or as they are given by the Bishop of Alais, the reader will probably agree with the Bishop, "that they are so slight and indifferent, so evidently determined by the grammatical motive of giving force and precision to the style, and so foreign to the substance of the doctrine, that, by producing them, Doctor Wake rendered unintentionally a great service to Bossuet."

CHAPTER III.

The Symbolic Books of the Greek Church.

The progress of the church of Constantinople, from a very humble station, to the eminent rank which she afterwards obtained in the Christian hierarchy, is a curious and important event in ecclesiastical history.

Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Constantinople, the church had the three patriarchs of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Three dioceses were independent of them; and subject, each to its primate; that of Asia, to the primate of Ephesus; that of Thrace, to the primate of Heraclea; and that of Pontus, to the primate of Cesarea. It is not clear, that the church of Constantinople had its peculiar bishop; at most, the bishopric was inconsiderable, and its bishop subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea. After the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the bishops of Constantinople acquired importance; by degrees, they obtained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and were elevated to the rank of Patriarch. The same rank was conferred on the bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, during a considerable period, the five Patriarchs of the Christian world were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. In course of time, the patriarch of Constantinople raised himself above the other oriental patriarchs, and finally assumed the

title of Œcumenical, or Universal, Patriarch. The Popes opposed this attempt, and preserved their own rights; and therefore, as Mr. Gibbon observes, "till the great division of the church, the Roman bishop had ever been respected by the orientalists, as the first of the five patriarchs." (Vol. 1. pa. 400, quarto edition.)

Even in matters of ceremony in civil concerns, Constantinople yielded to Rome: the consul of the West preceded the consul of the East. After the separation of the Greek from the Latin church, the five patriarchs were represented in Rome, by five churches; the Roman patriarchate, by the church of St. John of Lateran; the patriarch of Constantinople, by the church of St. Peter in the Vatican; the patriarchate of Alexandria, by the church of St. Paul; the patriarchate of Antioch, by the church of St. Mary the Greater; and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, by the church of St. Lawrence. (See *Onuphrius de Episcopatibus, titulis, et diaconiis Cardinalium.*)

The points which the Greeks objected to the Latin church, and upon which they professed to justify their separation from her, were, 1st. that, in the article of the symbol or creed of Constantinople, which mentions the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Latin church had inserted the word "*filioque*," to describe the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son; 2dly, that the Latin church acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; and 3dly. that in the consecration of the sacrifice of the altar, the Latin Church used unleavened bread. The history of the temporary reunion of the churches, at the council of Florence, is well known. The attempts which, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were set on foot, to lead the Greeks of the Levant to a reunion with the See of Rome, and the successful exertions of Cyrillus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, to prevent it, are also known: but a full and judicious history appears to be wanting.

Wherever the Turkish empire extends, the Greek church is in a state of subjection; but, in an immense part of the globe, as both the Russias, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, and the islands in the Mediterranean, belonging to the Venetians, the

Greek Church is that of the state. Even in his present condition of degradation, the Patriarch of Constantinople holds his pre-eminence over every other prelate of the Greek Church. Mr. Dallaway observes, that, " since the close of the sixteenth century, the Russian Church has claimed a jurisdiction independent of the See of Constantinople; nevertheless, appeals have been made to this See, in cases of extraordinary importance." This is confirmed by Mr. King, in his " Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church of Russia." Thus, ever since the separation of the Churches, each of the two prelates, the bishop of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople, has been the centre of different systems.

The Greek church has many important documents of her faith, subsequent to her separation from the Church of Rome: two of them are entitled to particular mention. The first, is the *Confession of her true and sincere Faith*, which, on the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the second, in 1453, Gennadius, its patriarch, presented to the conqueror. It was favourably received, and Mahomet delivered into the hand of Gennadius, the crozier or pastoral staff, as an emblem of his investiture of the patriarchal see, and authorised him to assure the Greeks in his name, of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. An account of the interview is given in the *Historia Patriarcharum qui sederunt in hac magnâ catholicâque ecclesiâ Constantinopolitanensi postquam cepit eam Sultanus Mechemeta:* written in modern Greek, by Emmanuel Malaxus, a Peloponnesian, translated into Latin by Crusius, Professor at Tubingen, and published by him, in his *Turco-Græciæ, Libri octo.* A copy of this curious work, containing also the *Germano-Græcia* of the same author, is in the University library, Cambridge.

The second, and by far the most authentic document, which we possess of the creed of the Greek church is, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Greek Church.* It was published in 1642, by Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiow: It is written in the form of a Catechism, and has the approbation of three Russian bishops, his suffragans. It was afterwards ap-

proved, with great solemnity, by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; by the bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Beræa, Rhodes, Methymna, Lacedemon and Chio; and by several of the chief officers of the Greek church of Constantinople. An edition of it in the Greek, Latin and German languages was published at Wratislaw, in octavo, in 1751. An ordinance of Peter the Great, of the Patriarchs of Moscovy and the perpetual Synod, declared it to express the religious credence of the Russian church; and that the doctrine of it should be universally followed and taught. An Abridgment of the most interesting articles in this Catechism, is inserted in the Appendix to this work, Note I.

It was the wish of the writer of these pages, to insert in them an historical account of the Confession of Faith of Cyrillus Lucaris, the Patriarch of Constantinople, subscribed by him in 1621, and of the Counter-Confession of the Council of Jerusalem, held in that city in 1672, and presided by Doritheus, its Patriarch; but after much research, the materials for it have not fallen within his reach.

CHAPTER IV.

The Symbolic Books of the Lutheran Churches.

THE Council of Trent was attended with this incalculable good, that in a series of short canons, it propounded all the Articles of Catholic Faith, in explicit terms; and thus, by a reference to them, both the members of the Roman Catholic church, and the members of the churches separated from her, might readily perceive the points, in which the churches agreed; the points, in which they disagreed; and the nature and extent of the disagreement. A similar exposition of their faith had been previously given by the Lutherans in the Confession presented by them at the Diet of Augsburgh. It was originally called the Confession of Augsburgh. I. That Confession, II. The Defence of it by Melancthon, III. The Articles of Smalcald, IV. The Great and Little Catechism of Luther, V. And the Form of Concord, which we shall afterwards notice, compose the Symbolic Books of the Lutheran church. We shall give an account of them in this chapter: VI. Then, notice the Saxonic and Wirtemburgh Confessions, VII. Then, offer some general observations on the Constitution and Liturgy of the Lutheran Church, VIII. And on the difference between the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches on the Doctrine of Justification. IX. We shall conclude the chapter by an account of some communications between the Divines of Wirtemburgh and the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the Confession of Augsburgh.

IV. 1.

The Confession of Augsburgh.

In 1530, a Diet of the German princes was convened by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, to meet in that city, for the express purpose of pacifying the religious troubles, by which most parts of Germany were then distracted. "In his journey towards Augsburgh," says Dr. Robertson, "the Emperor had many opportunities of observing the dispositions of the Germans, in regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds every where so much irritated and inflamed, that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted, till the other methods proved ineffectual. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties an universal spirit of moderation and desire of peace. With such sentiments, the Protestant Princes employed Melancthon, the man of the greatest learning, as well as the most pacific and gentlest spirit among the reformers, to draw up a Confession of Faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard to truth would admit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to invenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task, so agreeable to his natural disposition, with moderation and success."

The best account of this important document, which has come to the knowledge of the writer of these pages, is the history given of it, and of the transactions with which it is connected, by M. Beausobre, in the eighth book of his History of the Reformation. He speaks, in terms of great praise, of the spirit of conciliation, with which the Emperor entered on the business, and which distinguished every part of the conduct of Melancthon. An extract from a letter, written by that eminent reformer, to Cardinal Campegio, the Pope's Legate, is transcribed by Beausobre, and shews how nearly, at one time, matters were considered to be brought to an accommodation. By this letter, Melancthon informs the legate, "that he and all his party were ready to receive peace on any terms; that they had no dogma,

which differed from the Church of Rome; and that, if they disputed with her, it was only on some articles, which might more properly be referred to the schools: that the reformers had repressed those, who sought to spread pernicious doctrines; that they were ready to obey the church of Rome, on condition, that she would treat them with that clemency, which she uniformly shewed to all, and connive or relax in some parts of little importance, which it was no longer in the power of the Protestants to alter; that they honored, with profound respect, the authority of the Roman pontiff, and all the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that all the favour asked by them, was, that the Pope would have the goodness not to reject them: that nothing had made them so odious in Germany, as the constancy with which they defended some of the doctrines of the church of Rome; and finally, that, with the grace of God, they would remain faithful to the last breath, to Jesus Christ and to the church of Rome."

This remarkable letter was accompanied by a Memoire, in which it was proposed, "1st. that the pope would have the goodness to concede to the Protestants, communion under both kinds, particularly, as the Protestants did not blame those, who communicated in one kind only, and confessed, that the body of Jesus Christ, entire, together with his blood, was received under the sole species of bread. 2dly. That his holiness would allow the marriage of priests. 3dly. That he would allow, or at least tolerate, the marriages already contracted by priests, or other religious persons, and dispense with their vows. As to the mass," say the writers of the Memoire, "we retain its principal ceremonies." The distinction of meats and other observances, Melancthon treats as secondary points, to be easily settled.

Beausobre considers the authenticity of the letter and memoire to be unquestionable. "Nor are we," says Beausobre, "to hold Melancthon alone responsible for this relaxation; as it appears, that the Protestant Princes declared to the mediators, that, if they would permit communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the celebration of the mass, according to their reformation of it, and this only till

the decision of the council should be obtained on these points, they were willing to obey in the rest." Beausobre also brings strong reasons to shew, that these propositions were not suggested without the knowledge of Luther. Cardinal Pallavicini, (lib. III. c. 5.) mentions, on the authority of a letter of the Cardinal Legate Campegio, that "the parties were on the foot of coming to an agreement, when some injudicious publications, which he mentions, rekindled the discord." Greatly indeed is it to be lamented, that, where such a general disposition of conciliation appeared, and such near approaches to it were actually made, any thing should have prevented its completion.

When Melancthon had framed the Confession, he delivered it to the protestant princes, who attended the diet. It was composed by him, in the German language, and he himself translated it into the Latin. The German was read at the diet, and both the original and translation were delivered to the Emperor.

The singular importance of this document of Protestant Faith, seems to require, in this place, a particular mention of its contents. It consists of twenty-one articles.—In the first, the subscribers of it acknowledge the Unity of God, and the Trinity of Persons: In the second, original sin: In the third, the two natures, and unity of person in Jesus Christ, and all the other articles contained in the symbol of the apostles, respecting the Son of God. They declare in the fourth, that men are not justified, before God, by their works and merits, but by the faith which they place in Jesus Christ, when they believe that God forgives their sins out of love for his Son. In the fifth, that the preaching of the gospel, and the sacraments, are the ordinary means, used by God, to infuse the Holy Ghost, who produces faith, whenever he wills, in those, that hear his word. In the sixth, that faith produces the good works, to which men are obliged by the commandments of God. In the seventh, that there exists a perpetual church, which is the assembly of saints; and that the word of God is taught in it with purity, and the sacraments administered in a legitimate manner; that the unity of this church consists in uniformity of doctrine and sacraments; but, that an uniformity of ceremonies is not requisite. In the eighth, they

profess, that the word of God, and the sacraments, have still their efficacy, although administered by wicked clergymen. In the ninth, that baptism is requisite for salvation, and that little children ought to be baptised. In the tenth, that, in the sacrament of the last supper, both the body and blood of the Lord are truly present and distributed to those, who partake of it—(The various readings of this article will be afterwards mentioned). In the eleventh, that confession must be preserved in the church, but without insisting on an exact enumeration of sins. In the twelfth, that penance consists of contrition and faith, or the persuasion, that, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our sins are forgiven us, on our repentance; and that there is no true repentance, without good works, which are its inseparable fruits. In the thirteenth, that the sacraments are not only signs of the profession of the gospel, but proofs of the love of God to men, which serve to excite and confirm their faith. In the fourteenth, that a vocation is requisite for pastors to teach in the church. In the fifteenth, that those ceremonies ought to be observed, which contribute to keep order and peace in the church; but that the opinion of their being necessary to salvation, or that grace is acquired, or satisfaction done for our sins, by them, must be entirely exploded. In the sixteenth, that the authority of magistrates, their commands and laws, with the legitimate wars, in which they may be forced to engage, are not contrary to the gospel. In the seventeenth, that there will be a judgment, where all men will appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and that the wicked will suffer eternal torments. In the eighteenth, that the powers of free will may produce an exterior good conduct, and regulate the morals of men towards society; but that without the grace of the Holy Ghost, neither faith, regeneration, or true justice can be acquired. In the nineteenth, that God is not the cause of sin, but that it arises only from the corrupt will of man. In the twentieth, that good works are necessary and indispensable; but that they cannot purchase the remission of sins, which is only obtained in virtue of the merits of Christ, and in consideration of faith, which, when it is sincere, must produce good works. In the twenty-first, that the virtues of the saints are to be

placed before the people, in order to excite imitation; but that the scripture no where commands their invocation, nor mentions any where any other mediator than Jesus Christ. "This," say the subscribers of the Confession, "is the summary of the doctrine taught amongst us; and it appears, from the exposition which we have just made, that it contains nothing contrary to scripture; and that it agrees with that of the Catholic Church, and even with the Roman Church, as far as is known to us, by their writers. This being so, those, who wish that we should be condemned as heretics, are very unjust. If there be any dispute between us, it is not upon articles of faith, but only upon abuses, that have been introduced into the church, and which we reject. This, therefore, is not a sufficient reason to authorise the bishops not to tolerate us, since we are agreed in the tenets of faith, which we have set forth: there never has been an exact uniformity of exterior practices, since the beginning of the church; and we preserve the greater part of the established usages. It is therefore a calumny to say, that we have abolished them all. But, as all the world complained of the abuses, that had crept into the church, we have corrected those only, which we could not tolerate, with a good conscience; and we entreat your Majesty to hear, what the abuses are, which we have retrenched, and the reasons we had for doing it. We also entreat, that our inveterate enemies, whose hatred and calumnies are the principal cause of the evil, may not be believed."

They then proceed to state the abuses in the church of Rome, of which they complain. The first is the denial of the cup in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—the second, the celibacy of the Clergy—the third, the form of the Mass. On this head their language is very remarkable: "Our churches," they say, "are unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass, since they celebrate it with great veneration: they even preserve almost all the accustomed ceremonies, having only added a few German hymns to the latter, in order that the people may profit by them." But they object to the multiplicity of Masses, and to the payment of any money to a priest for saying them.—The fourth abuse of which they complain, is the practice of Auri-

cular Confession: but, they observe, that they have only taken from it the penitent's obligation to make to the priest a particular enumeration of his sins; and that they had retained the confession itself, and the obligation of receiving absolution from the priest. The fifth abuse, is the injunction of abstinence from particular meats. Monastic vows they represent as the sixth abuse. The seventh and last abuse of which they complain, is that of Ecclesiastical power. They say that "a view of the attempts of the Popes to excommunicate princes, and dispose of their states, led them to examine and fix the distinction between the Secular and Ecclesiastical power, to enable themselves to give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to the Popes and Bishops what belongs to them:" —That "Ecclesiastical power, or the power of the Keys, which Jesus Christ gave to his church, consisted only of the power of preaching the Gospel, of administering the Sacraments, the forgiveness of sins, and refusing absolution to a false penitent:—Therefore," say they, "neither Pope nor Bishops have any power to dispose of kingdoms, to abrogate the laws of magistrates, or to prescribe to them rules for their government;" and that, "if there did exist Bishops, who had the power of the sword, they derived this power from their quality of temporal sovereigns, and not from their episcopal character, or from divine right, but as a power conceded to them by Kings or Emperors."

It is not a little remarkable, that considerable differences, or various readings, are to be found in the printed texts of this important document; and that it is far from certain, which copy should be considered the authentic edition. The German copies, printed in 1530, in quarto and octavo, and the Latin edition printed in quarto in 1531, are in request among bibliographical amateurs; but there is a verbal, and, in some instances, a material discrepancy among them. The Wittenburgh edition, of 1540, is particularly esteemed; and has been adopted by the publishers of the *Sylloge Confessionum diversarum*, printed in 1804, at the Clarendon press. One of the most important of these various readings occurs in the tenth article. In some of the editions which preceded that of 1540, it is expressed,

" that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and distributed to those, who partake of our Lord's supper; and the contrary doctrine is reprobated." The edition of 1540 expresses, that, " with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly given to those who partake of our Lord's supper." This difference is noticed in the edition of the Confessions at the Clarendon press.

" In the Confession of Augsburgh," says Dr. Maclaine, the learned translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, " there are three sorts of articles; one sort, orthodox, and adopted by the Roman Catholics and Protestants; another, that consists of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome. This gave some reason to hope, that by the means of certain qualifications and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on the salutary work; at first, seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines; which number was afterwards reduced to three. Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences; but he was constantly consulted by the Protestant party."

The Confession was read, at a full meeting of the Diet, by the Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony. It was subscribed by that Elector, and three other princes of the German empire, and then delivered to the Emperor.

IV. 2.

The Apology of the Confession of Augsburgh.

John Faber, afterwards Archbishop of Vienna, and two other Roman Catholic divines, composed an answer to the Confession: Melancthon replied to their answers by his defence of the Con-

fession of Augsburgh, *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ.* Two editions of this apology, one in quarto, the other in octavo, were published by him in 1531; the former edition is preferred. It was composed in the Latin language, and immediately translated into the German. The curious should acquire both the quarto and octavo Latin editions, and the German translation; as, in all of them, there are various readings. Doctor Semler says, that the variations, in the German translation, were made with the privity of Melancthon. He also intimates, that Faber's answer, which produced the Apology, was not published till 1572, when it was published in the German language. It appeared in Latin in the following year. (*D. Is. Semleri Apparatus in Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ, Halæ Magdeburgicæ,* 1775, *oct.* § 84.)

IV. 3.

The Articles of Smalcald.

The Confession of Augsburgh and its defence were followed, at a distance of some years, by the articles of Smalcald, drawn up by Luther, on the occasion of a meeting of the Protestant Princes in that city.

They were framed by Luther, and exhibit a striking contrast between the Doric eloquence of that reformer, and the Ionic gentleness of Melancthon. In the Confession, and its defence, every harsh expression was avoided; and great reserve observed in the mention of the Pope. In the articles of Smalcald, it is explicitly declared, that, " the Pope is not of divine right; that the power, which he has usurped, is full of arrogance and blasphemy; that all which he has done, and does, in virtue of that power, is diabolical; that the church can, and ought, to subsist without having a chief; that though the Pope should own that he is not of divine right, but that he was established solely for keeping up, more conveniently, the unity of Christians against the sectaries, nothing good would come from such an authority; and that the best method of go

verning and preserving the church, is, that all Bishops, though unequal in gifts, should be equal in their ministry under one chief, who is Jesus Christ; and finally, that the Pope is the true Antichrist." The subscriptions to these articles are preserved. Melancthon was among the subscribers; but widely differing from Luther in his opinion of the Pope, he expressed his subscription in the following terms: "I, Philip Melancthon, approve the preceding articles, as pious and charitable. As to the Pope, my opinion is, that if he would receive the Gospel, for the peace and common tranquillity of those, who now are, or hereafter shall be, under him, we might accord to him the superiority over the bishops; which he now holds of common right" —a sentiment subsequently expressed both by Grotius and Leibnitz. The earliest and most approved edition of the articles of Smalcald, is in the German language, and was printed in 1538.

It was intended that they should be presented at the general council, then convened at Mantua, and afterwards held at Trent. With this view they were translated into Latin.

IV. 4.

The Catechisms of Luther.

Long before the publication of any of the books we have mentioned, the Great and Less Catechisms of Luther made their appearance. Both of them were printed in the year 1529. Which first issued from the press, is a question much agitated by Lutheran bibliographers.

IV. 5.

The Form of Concord.

To the books which we have mentioned, many Lutheran churches add the Form of Concord. It is also called, from the

place in which it was composed, the book of Torgau. Its object was to effect an amicable adjustment of the differences among the Lutherans; and to preserve their churches against the opinions of the reformed churches in relation to the Eucharist. With this view, Andreæ, a distinguished theologian of the Lutheran communion, with the assistance of several other theologians of the same party, composed, in 1576, this document. It was sent by the Elector of Saxony to the Lutheran princes, for their examination. By some, it was approved; by others, rejected; and it was censured by many theologians. This engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and from the document, thus new-modelled, the Form of Concord, as it now stands, was originally drawn. It was published in 1579. It produced much disturbance; was rejected by all the reformed, and some of the Lutheran divines: and even the authenticity of the document was questioned, as the printed copies were stated to differ, in many places, from the manuscript copy, which had been approved. Dr. Maclaine, (Mos. Ecc. Hist. Cent. XVI. Sect. 3. p. 2. N. c.) charges it with a spirit of intolerance, and accuses the Lutheran divines of calling to its aid the terrors of the sword. The best edition is that of Dresden, in 1580. The best account of it is to be found in Hospinian's *Concordia discors. Tigur. MDCVII.*, and Hutter's *Concordia Concors. Wittemb. MDCXIV., in folio:* reprinted in the following year, at Leipsic, in the 4to size. By the former, it is ably attacked; by the latter, ably defended. It is the latest of the Lutheran Formularies.

The Confession of Augsburgh, its defence by Melancthon, the Articles of Smalcald, and the Great and Little Catechism of Luther, and, in many Lutheran churches, the Form of Concord, are the standard books of the Lutherans. They have often been printed together; and, in Germany, are universally known by the appellation of the *Symbolic Books of the Lutherans.*

IV. 6.

The Saxonic and Wirtemburgh Confessions.

It remains to mention some Confessions of Faith, which accord generally with the Symbolic Books of the Lutherans, and are greatly respected by them; but which, except in particular places, do not possess the authority of Symbolic Books. These are the Saxon, Wirtemburgian, Suabian, Pomeranian, Mansfeldian, Antwerpensian, and Copenhagen confessions. The two first of these only deserve a particular mention.

1. It was the earnest wish of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that the Protestant Princes of the empire, and their theologians, should attend the Council of Trent. On certain terms they offered to attend it; but their terms were refused. While the measure was in agitation, they prepared Confessions of Faith, to be presented to the council. The principal of these is, *the Saxonic.* It was composed by Melancthon, by the order of Maurice, on whom the emperor had recently conferred the electorate of Saxony. A numerous meeting of theologians from that electorate was convened at Leipsic: there, the confession was unanimously approved; and it was received, with the same unanimity, by the churches of Pomerania and Strasburgh. It was published in Latin in 1552; and in German in the same year. From the first of these editions, the edition at the Clarendon press is printed. The title which it received from Melancthon himself, is, "*Repetitio Augustanæ Confessionis, sive ut dicitur Confessio doctrinæ Saxonicarum ecclesiarum, Synodo tridentino oblata, anno MDLI. in quâ, christiane lector, videbis, quinam et Catholicæ ecclesiæ gremio resilierint, et per quos stet, quominus ecclesiæ pia concordia sanciatur. MDLII.*

2. Brentius, the most celebrated of the followers of Luther, after Melancthon, was the author of the *Confession of Wirtemburg.* Christopher, Duke of Wirtemburg, by whose direction it was composed, declared, in the preface, that it was an abridgment of the Confession of Augsburgh. Its title is, *Confessio*

piæ doctrinæ, quæ, nomine illustrissimi principis Christophori, ducis Virtembergensis, per legatos ejus, die 24 mensis Januarii, anno 1552, congregationi tridentinæ proposita est. Tubingen MDLII. There are, however, some important variations between each of these creeds and the Confession of Augsburgh.

Both these Confessions of Faith were presented at the council; and the persons charged with them by the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Wirtemburgh, were honorably received and treated. (Fra. Paolo, lib. 8.)

IV. 7.

The Constitution and Liturgy of the Lutheran Church.

In the Lutheran Creed, the supreme civil ruler of every state is clothed with the dignity, and performs the functions, of supremacy in the church. Its hierarchy, except in Denmark and Sweden, does not allow of bishops, but admits of a considerable subordination of rank and privilege among the ministers of the church. Thus it equally recedes from episcopacy and presbyterianism; and, in its observance of some of the feasts and fasts, and its retention of some of the ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, it keeps a middle place between presbyterianism and the church of Rome. Its liturgy, like that of the church of Rome, consists of Psalms and Lessons taken from the Old and New Testament; and of Hymns and Prayers. On the doctrine of the Eucharist, they hold, that the partaker of the Lord's Supper receives, together with the bread and wine, the real body and real blood of Christ.

IV. 8.

Difference between the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches on the doctrine of Justification.

" But the justification of the sinner," to use Luther's own language, " was the principle and source from which all his

doctrine flowed." So great, in his opinion, was the importance of this article of Christian faith, that he thought himself warranted in asserting, that, "while the doctrine upon it was pure, there would be no reason to fear either schism or division; but that, if the true doctrine of justification were altered, it would be impossible to oppose error, or to stop the progress of fanaticism." (Luth. Op. Ed. Jenæ 1561, T. 6. p. 13. Ib. T. 3. p. 189.) It is far from the object of these pages to enter into any thing like controversial discussion; but the writer thinks his readers will not be displeased to find in this place, an accurate statement of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches upon this important tenet of their respective creeds. It is expressed, with extreme accuracy, in a work highly celebrated on the Continent, "*Lettres d'un Docteur Catholique à un Protestant, sur les Principaux Points de Controverse. Rouen*, 1769. *Deuxieme Lettre, sur la justification.*" The writer of these letters begins that, which relates to the point in question, by observing to his Lutheran correspondent, that, "if there be a point, on which persons have disputed with warmth, and without sufficiently understanding one another, on either side, it must be acknowledged, that the question on the justification of a sinner, is a point of that description."

"You teach," he proceeds to observe, "that the sinner is solely justified by faith; that, after having offended God, and lost his grace, we obtain the remission of our sins, and are restored to the friendship of God, by means only of an act of faith:—every other act of virtue, as acts of contrition, good resolution, hope, charity, &c. having, as you pretend, no part in the sinner's justification.

"Now, to form a just idea of the faith, which you maintain to be the only means of reconciling us with God, it is to be remarked, that it is not the faith, which is understood by that word, in its common acceptation; that is to say, a general faith, by which we believe all that God has revealed to us. You require, that it should be a special faith, on the merits of Christ; and this faith, as your doctors explain it, contains first, an act of the *understanding*, by which we acknowledge, that Jesus

Christ has died for us; that he has fully satisfied for our sins; and that he presents to us his merits, his satisfactions, and his remission of our sins: and secondly, an act of the *will*, by which we accept all this, in applying and appropriating to ourselves what is offered to us, by Jesus Christ,—I mean his merits and the remission of our sins.

" It is, however, necessary, that we do you the justice to acknowledge, that you require justifying faith to be fruitful in good works; for you declare explicitly, that if faith be not accompanied by good works, it is not a true faith; that we must be careful to avoid imagining, that justifying faith can subsist with a wish to persist in sin; that, those, who have not contrition, and are resolved to continue to live in their disorders, have not the faith which justifies and saves them. Luther's expression is, ' Faith and good works are inseparably connected; it is faith only which justifies, but justifying faith is never single, and without good works.'

" *We* believe,—First, that faith, taken in the ordinary sense of that word, that is, for the virtue which makes us believe revealed truths, is absolutely necessary for the justification of the sinner. We are fully persuaded, that no works done before faith, or without faith, by the mere strength of free-will, or human reason, can have any part in the justification of the sinner.

" Secondly,—*We* believe that faith alone does not suffice to justify the sinner; that, in addition to it, there must be a sincere sorrow for sin, a firm resolution not to relapse into it, a salutary fear of the judgments of God, with a true confidence in the merits of Jesus Christ, and in the divine mercy.

" Thirdly,—*We* believe, that though the sinner may obtain the grace of justification, in bringing the dispositions which I have mentioned, still he cannot merit them; so that he is justified, gratuitously, by the pure mercy of God, and solely, in the view of the merits of Jesus Christ. I explain myself:—the sinner, after he has lost the grace of God, can do nothing, which is sufficiently agreeable to God, to entitle him to be restored to his friendship. All the good works which he does, in such a

state, are dead; and of too little value to exact from the divine justice, that the grace of reconciliation should be restored to him, as the fruit of his works. When God justifies us, by restoring his friendship to us, it is not in consequence of the goodness of our works; it is solely in consequence of the infinite price of the passion and death of Jesus Christ; it is gratuitously; it is from the pure effect of his mercy, that he applies to us the fruit of the merits and the infinite satisfaction of his Son. It is true, that God requires certain works, without which he does not justify the sinner; and in consequence of which, he does justify him: but he does not require them as meritorious works; he requires them as conditions, or as necessary dispositions, without which he does not receive the sinner into favour, or admit him to participate in the merits of Jesus Christ, as to their effects in the remission of sins. According to the doctrine of the Council of Trent, (*Sess. VI. c.* 8.) nothing that precedes justification, either of faith or works, can merit the grace of justification.

"Fourthly,—*We* believe, that though the sinner can only owe his justification to the merits of Jesus Christ, yet the merits of Jesus Christ are not the formal justice of the person justified:—he is not just of the justice of Jesus Christ; *that* is extrinsic to him. He is just, by an inherent justice,—a justice which, at the same time, is the justice of God, and the justice of man;—the justice of man, because, having obtained it of the divine liberality, it is within him, and not out of him;—the justice of God, because it comes from God alone; he alone gives it to the sinner, by a pure effect of his mercy, gratuitously, and only in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the sinner being altogether unable, on his part, to merit the justice by any imaginable work, whatever it may be."

We leave the reader to his own reflections:—if he be a Roman Catholic, he must concede to the Protestant, that he believes no sinner to be justified without good works; if he be a Protestant, he must concede to the Catholic, that he believes no good works of the sinner entitle him to justification; and whether

he be a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, he must concede to both, that they equally believe, that, where either faith or good works are wanting, the sinner will not be justified,—still, that his justification is not owing either to his faith or his good works, or to both: for though these abound, still would not the sinner be justified, if it were not for the infinite mercy of God, and the infinite merits and satisfaction of his Son. The author of the letters, to which the writer of these pages has referred, was Father Scheffmacker, a jesuit of Strasburgh. The reader, whatever be his creed, will be delighted with their truly christian politeness, elegance and perspicuity.

IV. 9.

Communication between the divines of Wirtemburgh and the patriarch of Constantinople, on the Confession of Augsburgh.

The Confession of Augsburgh, and the other symbolic books of the Lutherans, have been translated into every European language, and made the subject of innumerable commentaries. One of the most important of these translations, is that of the Confession, into modern Greek, which in 1574 was sent, under the direction of some Lutheran ministers of Wirtemburgh, to Jeremias, the patriarch of Constantinople. The translation was accompanied by a letter, in which the Wirtemburgh divines expressed their hopes, that, "though, on account of the distance of their countries, there was some difference of ceremonies between them, the patriarch would acknowledge, that they had introduced no innovation into the principal things necessary to salvation; and that they embraced and preserved, as far as their intelligence reached, the faith which had been taught them by the Apostles, the Prophets, and the Holy Fathers; and inspired by the Holy Spirit, the seven councils, and the Holy Scriptures." The different readings of that article of the Confession of

Augsburgh, which relates to the real presence, have been noticed. In the translation of the Confession, which was sent to the patriarch, it was expressed in the following terms, "Touching the supper of the Lord, they teach, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are there truly present, and are distributed to those who participate; and they condemn those who teach the contrary."

The patriarch's answer, so far as it relates to this article, is expressed in the following terms: "The tenth article treats of the Lord's supper; and to say the truth, with some obscurity; for they report to us on this point some things of you, which we disapprove. The catholic church teaches, that the bread is changed into the very body and the very blood of the Lord; but it is necessary, that the bread should be leavened, not unleavened. For the Lord, in the night in which he was betrayed, having taken bread and given thanks, brake it, and said, take and eat. He does not tell them, 'this is unleavened bread,' or 'the figure of my body;' but '*this* is my body.' It is not, that the flesh which our Saviour bore, was given to his disciples to eat, or his blood to drink; or that the Lord descends from heaven in the divine mysteries: for this would be blasphemy: but it is, that then, at our Lord's supper, and now, in our sacrifice, by the invocation and grace of the all-powerful spirit, which operates it, and by the holy prayers and words of the Lord, the bread is changed and converted into the very body of the Lord, and the wine into his very blood." To the answer of the patriarch Jeremias, the divines of Wirtemburgh replied. They state separately in their reply, the points in which they agreed, and the points in which they differed: on the real presence, they tell him, that they agree with him in believing, that "the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly present in the holy supper; but that they do not believe, that the bread is changed into the body of Jesus Christ." To this reply the patriarch answered. Another reply and another answer followed. The Wirtemburgh divines afterwards published the whole correspondence, under the title, "*Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtemburgensium et Patriarchæ Constan-*

tinopolitani D. Hieremiæ, quæ utrique ab anno MDLXXVI, usque ad annum MDLXXXI, de Augustanâ Confessione, inter se miserunt, græce et latine ab iisdem theologis edita. Wert. MDLXXXIV. Fol. The consequences to be drawn from the correspondence were a subject of warm dispute between *M. Claude* and the authors of the *Perpetuité de la Foy.*

CHAPTER V.

The Symbolic books of the Reformed Churches.

The reformed church, in the largest extent of that expression, comprises all the religious communities, which have separated from the church of Rome. In this sense it is often used by English writers: but, having been used by the French protestants to describe their church, it afterwards became the appellation of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent. In this sense it is used in the present pages. They will give some account, I. of the Helvetic, II. Tetrapolitan, III. Heidelburgh, IV. Gallic, V. and Belgic Confession of Faith, and VI. of the canons at the Synod of Dort.

V. 1.

The Helvetic Confession.

The founder of the reformed church was Ulric Zuingle, a man of great learning and acuteness of mind.

It was his opinion, that Luther's scheme of Reformation fell very short of the extent to which it ought to have been carried. Under the impression we have mentioned, and with a view, as he termed it, of restoring the church to its original

purity, Zuingle sought to abolish many doctrines and rites of the Roman-catholic church, which Luther had retained. In some points of doctrine, he also differed from Luther, and his opinion on the real presence made a complete separation between them. Luther, as we have repeatedly mentioned, held that, together with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were really present in the Eucharist. Zuingle held, that the bread and wine were only *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ; so that the Eucharistic rite was merely a pious and solemn ceremony, to bring it to the remembrance of the faithful. The opinions of Zuingle were adopted in Switzerland, and several neighbouring nations. They gave rise to the most violent animosities between their favourers, and the disciples of Luther. Frequent advances to peace were made by the Zuinglians: Luther uniformly rejected them with sternness. He declared an union to be impossible: he called them "ministers of Satan." When they entreated him to consider them as brothers, "What fraternity," he exclaimed, "do you ask with me, if you persist in your belief?" On one occasion, the ingenuity of Bucer enabled him to frame a creed, which each party, construing the words in his own sense, might sign. This effected a temporary truce; but the division soon broke out with fresh animosity. "Happy," exclaimed Luther, "is the man who has not been of the council of the Sacramentarians; who has not walked in the ways of the Zuinglians."

There are several Confessions of the Helvetic faith.

The first is entitled "The confession of faith of the inhabitants of Bâsle." The first edition of this was printed, in 1530, at Bâsle, in the German language. The second is called "the Summary and general confession of faith of the Helvetian churches: *Ecclesiarum per Helvetiam, Confessio Fidei Summaria et generalis.*" It was printed at Bâsle, in 1536, and presented to the council of Trent. The third, which is principally considered and generally styled "the Helvetic confession of faith," is the "*Confessio et Expositio simplex orthodoxæ fidei et dogmatum catholicorum sinceræ religionis Christianæ, concorditer ab ecclesiæ ministris, qui sunt in Helvetiâ, Tiguri, Berni,*

Scaphusii, Gangalli, Curiæ-Rhætorum, et apud confederatos, Mylhusii, item et Biennæ, quibus adjunxerunt se et Genevensis ecclesiæ ministri, editæ." It was composed in 1566, by Bullinger, under the particular direction of the Elector Palatine. Some writers have asserted, that the Elector was its real author. With the exception of Bâsle, it was adopted by all the Helvetic and Rhætian cities, which had embraced the Reformation. The divines of Bâsle refused to sign it; not because they objected to the doctrine which it contained, but because, in their opinion, their previous subscription of their own creed, in 1530, rendered it unnecessary. It is greatly esteemed by all the Reformed Churches, and is particularly curious, from its generally expressing the Zuinglian creed, before it was newly modelled by Calvin. It is the first of the Confessions in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon Press.

V. 2.

The Tetrapolitan Confession.

This Confession was signed by the four cities of Strasburgh, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau; and is supposed to have been written by Bucer. It was first published in the German language, in 1531, at Strasburgh. It was also published at Strasburgh in Latin, in the same year. In some instances, particularly in respect to the Eucharistic sacrifice, it conforms to the doctrine of Zuingle; for though, in the tenth article, it may be thought to express the doctrines of Luther on the Real Presence, this seems explained away in the apology, which accompanies the Latin translation. It was presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburgh, and, by his direction, a confutation of it was immediately published. A curious account of this Confession is to be found in Schelhornius's *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. 6. p. 305. The title of the Latin edition is, "*Confessio Religionis Christianæ. Imp. Car. V. in Comitiis Aug.* 1530 *per legatos civitatum Argentorati, Constantiæ, Memmingæ, et Lindaniæ exhibitæ*, 4to."

V. 3.

The Confession of Faith, or Catechism of Heidelburgh.

The intervention of Calvin gave a new aspect to the Creed and religious institutions of the Reformed. The church of Geneva being placed under his direction, he conceived one of the boldest projects, that ever entered into the mind of an obscure individual. He undertook to new model the religious creed of the Reformed Church; to give it strength and consistency; and to render the church of Geneva the mistress and mother of all the Reformed Churches. His learning, eloquence, and talents for business, soon attracted general notice; and while the fervor of his zeal, the austerity of his manners, and the devotional cast of his writings attracted the multitude, the elegance of his compositions, and his insinuating style, captivated the gentleman and the scholar. By degrees, his fame reached every part of Europe; and having prevailed on the Senate of Geneva to found an Academy, and place it under his direction; and having filled it with men eminent throughout Europe for their learning and talents, it became the general resort of persons, who leaned to the new principles, and sought for religious or literary instruction. From Germany, France, Italy, England, and Scotland, numbers crowded to the new academy, and returned from it to their respective countries, saturated with the theological lore of Geneva, and burning with zeal to propagate its creed.

In five articles it materially differs from the creed of Zuingle. 1st. In the Eucharist, Zuingle supposed only a symbolical or figurative presence of the body and blood of Christ. Calvin maintained, that when the true Christian received the Sacrament with a lively faith, he was united indescribably, but really, to Jesus Christ incarnate; and that, to him, Jesus Christ was therefore *really*, though not *corporeally*, present in the Sacrament. Thus, when he advocated the reality of the presence, he seemed to hold the language of Luther; when he denied the corporeal presence, he seemed to hold the language of Zuingle: this gained

him proselytes from both. 2ndly. With the abstruse doctrines of fate and free-will, Zuingle had not meddled. Less wise than Zuingle, Calvin plunged into the abyss. The absolute decree of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, was an essential tenet in his creed. He maintained, without any qualification, that God, in predestinating from all eternity one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and the other to everlasting misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than his own good pleasure and free-will. 3dly. Zuingle subjected the clergy to the controul of the magistrate; Calvin made the clergy almost independent. 4thly. Zuingle admitted a considerable degree of subordination in the Hierarchy. Calvin admitted none in theory, and little in practice; and in direct opposition to Zuingle, held, that all ministers of the church were perfectly equal. This gave his form of ecclesiastical government its known appellation of Presbyterian.

From the circumstances which have been mentioned, Geneva soon acquired the first rank among the Reformed Churches. The second place was formerly assigned to the Reformed Church of the Palatinate. In 1560, Frederick, the third elector palatine of that name, had established the reformed religion in his territories. His son substituted the Lutheran in its stead; but John Casimer, who succeeded the son of Frederick, restored, in 1583, the discipline of the Reformed Church; and it acquired so much consideration, that the "Form of Instruction," which was composed for the use of John Casimer, under the title of *The Catechism of "Heidelburgh,"* was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists. The first edition of it was published in 1563, and holds its place in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

V. 4.

The Gallic Confession of Faith.

The doctrines of Luther soon penetrated into France. But after the institutions of Calvin had obtained a legal settlement

at Geneva, his creed and discipline insensibly made their way into that kingdom; and were adopted, almost universally, by those French, who separated from the communion of the See of Rome. The first Synod of the reformed in France was held in 1559; there a Confession of Faith was adopted. It was printed in the same year; and this edition is in great request among the curious, as none of the translations, or subsequent editions, express it with perfect accuracy. At the memorable conference of Poissi in 1551, the celebrated Theodore Beza presented this Confession of Faith to Charles the Ninth. Being afterwards presented, in great form, to that monarch by the Queen Dowager of Navarre, Henry the Fourth, then King of Navarre, Henry Prince of Condé, Lewis Count of Nassau, Admiral Coligni, and several other persons of distinction, it acquired the character and importance of a Symbolic Book.

V. 5.

The Belgic Confession of Faith.

At an early period of the Reformation, the new doctrines reached the Netherlands. Some, who favoured them, adopted the principles of Zuingle; others, those of the Reformed Churches of France. At the meeting of the States in 1571, for renewing their federation, the system of Calvin was publicly received, and the Belgic Confession of Faith approved. It is observable, that the Lutherans were considered, by the government of Spain, to be better subjects than the Calvinists. On this account, the Dutch Protestants, as long as they were subject to Spain, avoided the title of Reformed, and styled themselves "Associates of the Brethren of the Confession of Augsburgh." But, at the time of their federation, they assumed the title of Reformed, and generally signed the Belgic Confession of Faith. It has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and even into the Arabic. It was composed in French, and first published in 1561. A translation of it into the Flemish

language was printed in 1579. A Latin translation is published by the editors of the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

V. 6.

The Canons of the Synod of Dort.

The Synod of Dort was convened to compose the troubles occasioned by the celebrated Arminian controversy.

Arminius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, had received his theological education at Geneva. After much profound meditation on the abstruse subject of predestination, he became dissatisfied with Calvin's doctrine of the Absolute Decrees of God, in respect to the Salvation and Perdition of Man; and, while he admitted the eternal prescience of the Deity, he held, with the Roman Catholic church, that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy, by an eternal and invincible decree; and that the misery of those who perish, comes from themselves. Many, who were eminent for their talents and learning, and some who filled high situations in Holland, embraced his opinions; but, apparently, at least, a great majority sided against them. The most active of these was Gomar, the colleague of Arminius in the professorship. Unfortunately, politics entered into the controversy. Most of the friends of Arminius were of the party, which opposed the politics of the Prince of Orange; while, generally, the adversaries of Arminius were favourable to the views of that prince. Barneveldt and Grotius, two of the most respectable partizans of Arminius, were thrown into prison for their supposed practices against the state. The former perished on the scaffold; the latter, by his wife's address, escaped from prison. While these disturbances were at the highest, Arminius died.

On his decease, the superintendance of the party devolved to Episcopius, who was, at that time, Professor of Theology at Leyden, and universally esteemed for his learning, his judgment,

and his eloquence. The Arminian cause prospering under him, the opposite party took the alarm, and, in 1618, a Synod was called at Dort, by the direction, and under the influence, of Prince Maurice. It was attended by deputies from the United Provinces; and from the churches of England, Hesse, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate.

The Synod adopted the Belgic Confession, decided in favour of Absolute Decrees, and excommunicated the Arminians. Its canons were published under the title of *Judicium Synodi nationalis reformatarum ecclesiarum habiti Dordrechii anno* 1618 *et* 1619, *de quinque doctrinæ capitibus, in ecclesiis belgicis, controversis: Promulgatum VI. Maii MDCXIX.* 4*to.* It concludes the Sylloge Confessionum, printed at the Clarendon press.

CHAPTER VI.

The Symbolic Books of the Waldenses.

Few works are more wanted, or, if executed by a religious, learned, and philosophic pen, would be more interesting or instructive, than a history of the second appearance of the Manichæans in the west, and the important consequences, both in church and state, with which it was attended.

It is known to every learned reader, that, some time after the death of Manes, the European Manichæans retreated, and carried their doctrines with them into the east. They returned into Europe about the beginning of the ninth century; and, during that and the following centuries, they and their disciples, under various appellations, as Paulicians, Albigenses, Bogards, and Brethren of the Free Spirit, spread themselves over Europe, in several sects, equally hostile to the church and state.

The Waldenses are of a different extraction, and the horrid principles, with which the sects of Manichæan extraction have been charged, cannot with justice be imputed to the disciples of Waldo. The same exception may be made in favour of some other denominations of Christians, who, during the period we have mentioned, separated from the church of Rome. But, in the course of time, some portions of these adopted, in a greater or less degree, several of the obnoxious principles of the Manichæans; so that, speaking generally, the two following

opinions prevailed in most of their communities; that the individual possession of worldly goods is unlawful; and that no person in office, either in church or state, can validly exercise his functions, if he be not in the state of grace. It is obvious that the practical results of these opinions are equally inconsistent with the tranquillity of the state, and the settlement of the church, and lead to the greatest excesses.

Soon after the Reformation, a curious correspondence took place between the Waldenses and Œcolampadius. It is to be found in Scultet's *Annales Evangelii renovati, (Hist. Lit. Reformationis; Harmanni Von der Hart, p.* 160.) The consequence was, that some time after Calvinism was established at Geneva, it was embraced by the Waldenses; but they retained with it a considerable part of their tenets and discipline. In the year 1630, a plague having broke out, which destroyed a great proportion of their clergy, they applied for spiritual succour, to the reformed churches of France, and insensibly adopted their creed, rites and discipline.

The original and reformed creeds of the Waldenses may be seen in LEGER, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises,* lib. 1. c. 17. and in BOYER, *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Vaudois, c.* 2. *p.* 15. and in the valuable *History of the Waldenses,* recently published by MR. JONES.

CHAPTER VII.

The Symbolic Books of the Bohemians.

BEFORE the Reformation, Bohemia was a scene of great religious dispute. On the death of the celebrated John Huss, who had been burned on the charge of heresy, his followers retired to a mountain, in the district of Bohemia, and called it Tabor. Under Ziska, their first chief, and Rasa, his successor, they maintained a fierce war against their sovereign; and justified it on the ground, that Huss was innocent of the heresies with which he was charged, and was therefore unjustly put to death; but they unaccountably admitted as an incontestible principle, that real heretics were worthy of punishment. From a mountain, on which they fixed their head quarters, they were called Taborites. Splitting into parties, one party retained this appellation, the other was called Calixtines: both required the cup for the laity; but, while the latter would have been satisfied with the cup, and a gentle correction of abuse, the former insisted on a total alteration of church discipline, and an unqualified restoration of it to what they considered its pristine simplicity. The Calixtines were disposed to peace; the Taborites breathed nothing but war. "They had imbibed," says Mosheim, "the most barbarous sentiments, with respect to the obligation of fixing vengeance on their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but vengeance and fury, without any mixture of hu-

manity or compassion." In 1433, the council of Basil sent Æneas Sylvius and other legates, to confer with them. By allowing the cup to the laity, in the administration of the sacrament, they reconciled the Calixtines to the Roman Pontiff; but the Taborites remained inflexible: by degrees, however, they grew tired of the war, and insensibly retired to the peaceful occupations of trade and agriculture. A confession of the faith of the Calixtines, and a confession of faith of the Taborites were signed at the synod of Cuttenburgh, in 1441. They are inserted in *l'Enfan's Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle. T.* 2. *p.* 119, 132. A confession of the Bohemians is inserted in the "*Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, published at Cambridge in* 1580."

The Taborites, however, after their retirement from the war, persisted, but with greater moderation, in their projects of reform: and in 1522, having heard of Luther's reformation, sent a considerable number of deputies to him, to solicit his friendship and good offices. On many subsequent occasions, they shewed an attachment to the Saxon churches.

Previously to their signing the *Confession of faith* which has been mentioned, they had signed one in 1532, in the Bohemian language. This is extremely rare: it was afterwards translated into Latin, with the title, *Confessio Fidei ac Religionis Baronum ac Nobilium regni Bohemiæ, Serenissimo ac invictissimo Romanorum, Bohemiæ, &c. regi; Viennæ, Austriæ, sub anno domini* 1535, *oblata.* It is to be found in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, Pars II. Luther prefixed to it a preface, not approving it entirely, but approving the greatest part of it; and considering that the rest might be tolerated. Two editions of it were published by them, one in German, in 1572, the other in Latin, in 1612.

After the death of Luther, most of the Bohemians veered to Calvinism. They then became dissatisfied with their former creed; and, it is said, destroyed all the copies of their confession, which fell into their hands.

The disputes increasing, and Poland and Switzerland being

equally disturbed by them, a congress was held, of the Bohemian brethren, the Lutherans, and the Switzers, in 1570, at Sendomer. There they agreed on a formulary, generally called *the Consent of Faith at Sendomer*. This document, and a curious account of the congress, at which it was framed, was published by Jablonski, at Berlin, in 1731, with the title, *Historia Consensus Sendomerensis.*

But the agreement was of short duration; and almost immediately after it was signed, the majority of the Bohemians entered into communion with the Helvetic churches. In the year 1620, a general union of all the Bohemian churches was effected at Astrog, under the name of *the Church of the United Brethren.* By the terms of this agreement, the external form of the church was nearly Lutheran, the articles of faith, nearly Calvinistic.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Articuli Visitatorii of the Electorate of Saxony.

The articles, which are the subject of this chapter might, with propriety, have immediately followed the account which has been given of the Symbolic books of the Lutheran churches; but, as these articles were formed in consequence of the feuds between the Lutheran and reformed churches, and were designed to serve as a test for the discovery of concealed Calvinists, the writer thought the object and import of them would be better understood if they were preceded by an account of the Symbolic books of the Lutheran reformed churches.

The strong terms, in which Luther reprobated the Sacramentarians, have been mentioned. Several, however, of his most distinguished disciples were, even in his life-time, favourably disposed towards them. After his decease, they made no secret of those sentiments. Melancthon was at their head; and his intimacy with Calvin, the chief of the Sacramentarians, frequently led them to amicable discussions on the points in dispute. Melancthon died before any progress in the attempt at conciliation was made, but his spirit of moderation descended to his disciples.

The principal point in difference between the parties, turned on the doctrine of the Real Presence, in the Eucharistic sacri-

fice. In 1570, Peucer, the son-in-law of Melancthon, endeavoured to introduce the doctrine of Calvin on this article, into the Saxon churches. At first, his endeavours seemed to be attended with success; but, having published a catechism, in which the doctrine of Calvin on the Eucharist was plainly insinuated, the Saxon divines took the alarm. Augustus, the elector of Saxony, assembled them at Dresden, propounded to them a formulary of doctrine on the real presence, and ordered them to sign it. On the refusal of Peucer and his adherents, the elector, in 1574, held the famous convocation at Torgau, and committed Peucer and several of his adherents to prison. Peucer was treated with particular severity, and was not released till 1585.

Still, the favourers of the doctrine of Calvin persisted in their opinions. They did not dare to make an open profession of them; but were known to retain them, and, from their secret attachment to them, obtained the appellation of Crypto-Calvinists, or secret abettors of Calvinism. Augustus was succeeded by Christian the First. Under him, the Crypto-Calvinists emerged from their obscurity, and openly propagated their doctrines. In 1591, they distributed a new Calvinistic catechism, and a translation of the Bible into the German language, accommodated to Calvinistic principles.

By degrees, the Crypto-Calvinists were openly tolerated; and at length so much countenanced by Christian, as to threaten the Lutheran ascendancy; but his death, in 1591, put an end to their hopes. Christian the Second, a minor, succeeded him; Frederic William, Duke of Saxe-Altembergh, was his guardian, and the regent of the electorate, during his minority. Being warmly attached to Luther, he committed many of the Crypto-Calvinists to prison, and, in 1681, Crellius, their principal encourager and patron, was put to death, by his orders. A general persecution of the Crypto-Calvinists ensued, and articles, generally called *articuli visitatorii*, were formed, and tendered for the signature of all, who were suspected of Calvinism, as a test to discover their principles. They are not numbered among the Symbolic books of the Lutherans, but are singularly regarded by them. As the persons, by whom they were framed, were much esteemed, and as they professed to state in them,

with brevity and precision, the principal points in difference between the Lutherans and Calvinists, a literal translation of them is inserted in the Appendix.[1] It is made from the edition of them at the end of Dr. Semler's *Apparatus ad Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ.*

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[1] Appendix, Note II.

CHAPTER IX.

The Symbolic Book of the Arminians.

THE triumph of the reformed churches over the Arminians, at the Synod of Dort, was rather apparent than substantial. It may be added to the numerous instances of the unavailing efforts of the temporal and ecclesiastical powers, even when they are united, to prevent the diffusion and adoption of opinions, which the public mind is strongly bent on receiving. Most of the leaders of the Arminians were banished from the states of Holland, or found it necessary to quit them. Those who remained were persecuted, and the general body was subjected to continual vexation. But, after the death of Prince Maurice, a wiser conduct, in their regard, was pursued: the exiles were recalled, and the community at large was permitted to follow their religious principles without molestation. Insensibly, the toleration was so complete, that, with the connivance of the government, they built churches, and founded seminaries for the instruction of their youth; and, for the propagation of their theological principles, established a college at Amsterdam. The first professor of theology at this celebrated institution was Episcopius. Many other of its professors, as Courcelles, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Wetstein, were eminent for their learning. From their remonstrances against the proceedings of the synod at Dort, they obtained the appellation of Remonstrants:

from their opposition to the remonstrances, Gomar and his followers were called Contra-Remonstrants.

The great object of the Arminian professors was, if we may be allowed to use their own expressions, to simplify the creed of Christians, and bring them into one fold. In opposition to the followers of Calvin, they held 1st. That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those, who, he foresaw, would persevere to the end in their faith in Jesus Christ; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those, who, he foresaw, would continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours: 2dly. That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, atoned for the sins of all mankind; but, that those only, who believe in him, can be partakers of these benefits: 3dly. That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, or from the force and operation of free will, so that it is necessary to man's conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ: 4thly. That the divine grace begins, advances, and brings to perfection every thing that can be called good in man; but does not force man to act against his inclination, and may be resisted, and rendered ineffectual by his perverse will: 5thly. That persons united to Christ by faith, are thereby furnished with abundant strength to triumph over the seduction of Satan and concupiscence; but, that the question, whether persons thus united to Christ may afterwards fall from their faith, and finally forfeit this state of grace, has not yet been resolved with sufficient perspicuity.

In reading these articles, the reader will naturally ask, which of them justified the religious persecution, which the Arminians suffered, or called down upon them the interference of the civil power. Their persecution gave rise to the learned and eloquent treatise of Grotius, "*De jure summarum potestatum circa sacra.*" It was perhaps the first advocation of religious liberty that issued from any press. But Sir Thomas More had, long before, supposed its existence in Utopia.

It is observable, that the difference of opinion between the Arminians and the reformed churches, on the points, which we

have noticed, is the great subject of division between the Wesleyan and Whitfieldian Methodists; and, in a great degree the apple of discord between the Jesuits and Jansenists.

The theological system of the Arminians, after their return from Holland, underwent, if we credit Doctor Mosheim, a remarkable change. They appeared by his account, almost to coincide with those, who exclude the necessity of divine succours in the work of conversion and sanctification; and to think that Christ demands from man, rather virtue than faith; and has confined that belief, which is essential to salvation, to a few articles. Thus, the Arminians admit into their communion, 1st. All, who receive the holy Scriptures, and more especially the New Testament; and they allow to every individual his own interpretation of the sacred books:—2d. All who abstain from idolatry and Polytheism:—3d. All whose lives are regulated by the laws of God:—4th. And all, who neither persecute, nor bear ill will towards those, who differ from them in their religious principles. Their Confession of Faith was drawn up by Episcopius. It is entitled, "*Confessio sive Declaratio sententiæ Pastorum, qui in Federato Belgio Remonstratenses vocantur, super præcipuos Articulos Religionis Christianæ MDCXXII.* Four divines of the established church of Holland, Polyander, Rivetus, Walæus, and Thysæus, published *a Refutation* of this confession. The authors of the confession replied by their *Apology* in 1626.

The adversaries of the Arminians have frequently attempted to fix on them the charge of Deism; but this charge the Arminians have indignantly rejected. A writer in the *Bibliotheque Germanique,* (*Tom.* XLVI. *Art.* 12. *P.* 208.) relates, that "the celebrated Anthony Collins called on Mr. Le Clerc, of Amsterdam. He was accompanied by some Frenchman of the confraternity of those, who think freely. They expected to find the religious opinions of Le Clerc in unison with their own; but they were surprised to find the strong stand which he made in favour of Revelation. He proved to them, with great strength of argument, the truth of the Christian religion. 'Jesus Christ, he told them, was born among the Jews: still it was not the

Jewish religion which he taught; neither was it the religion of the Pagan neighbourhood; but a religion infinitely superior to both. One sees in it the most striking marks of Divinity. The Christians, who followed, were incapable of imagining any thing so beautiful. Add to this, that the Christian religion is so excellently calculated for the good of society, that, if we did not derive so great a present from heaven, the good and safety of men would absolutely demand for them an equivalent.'—Throughout the conversation, M. Le Clerc reproached the Deists strongly, for the hatred which they showed to christianity. He proved, that by banishing it from the world, they would overturn whatever was most holy and respectable among men; break asunder the surest bonds of humanity; teach men to shake off the yoke of law; deprive them of their strongest incitement to virtue; and bereave them of their best comfort. 'What, he asked them, do you substitute in its place? Can you flatter yourselves that you will discover something better? You expect, no doubt, that men will erect statues to you, for your exertions to deprive them of their religion. Permit me to tell you, that the part you act, makes you odious and despicable in the eyes of all honest men.' He finished the conversation by requesting Mr. Collins to bring him no more such visitors."

From the close of the 17th century, till the present time, Arminianism has been continually on the increase. It is a just observation of Mr. Gibbon, that "the disciples of Arminius must not be computed by their separate congregations."

CHAPTER X.

The Symbolic Books of the Socinians—Distinction between them and the Unitarians.

NOT long after the commencement of the Reformation, several persons began to deny the Trinity of persons in the Deity, and the divine authority of the Old and New Testament. From these the Modern Unitarians descend directly; the Socinians are more properly a sect which has branched from them, than their descendants. We shall first mention the Socinians, and then show the difference between the Socinian and Unitarian creeds.

X. 1.

Against the Unitarian impugners of the Trinity and the divine authority of the Scriptures, the Roman Catholics and Protestants made a common cause. To avoid their hostilities, the maintainers of such opinions settled themselves in Poland; and insensibly formed distinct congregations. Great contests taking place between them and the Protestant communities of Poland, they were ordered, by a resolution of the Diet of Petrickow, in 1565, to separate themselves into a distinct congregation. This was done; and from the town in which the chief of them resided, they received the name of Pinczovians. In this state they published, in 1574, their first Catechism; *Catechismus et Confessio Fidei cœtus per Poloniam Congregati, in nomine Jesu Christi Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati, MDLXXIV. Typis Alexandri Turobini,* 12*mo.*

This catechism is reckoned among the greatest typographical curiosities. It expresses, unequivocally, that Jesus Christ is subject to the Father, and seems to exclude mystery from its creed. It is ascribed to Gregory Paul, an eminent Lutheran divine of the principal reformed church of Cracow, who, about the year 1556, became a convert to Socinian principles. It is probably the work noticed by Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitariorum, p.* 44.; and by Mosheim (*Cent. XVI.* § 3. *Pars* II. *note*). He gives an interesting account of its contents, and ascribes it to the celebrated George Schoman.

The advocates of its doctrines established congregations at Cracow, Lubin, Pinczow, Luck and Smila. But their most flourishing settlement was at Racow, a city in the district of Sendomer. Before their settlement at Racow, they composed two versions of the sacred writings, one in 1565, while they lived in communion with the Helvetic churches; the other in 1572, after their separation.

In the mean time, similar opinions had been propagated in Italy, by *Lælius Socinus*. Being obliged, on this account, to leave it, he travelled into most countries of Europe, and finally settled at Zurich. Ostensibly he adopted the Helvetic Confession, but retained his particular opinions; and, at his death, bequeathed several writings in support of them to Faustus Socinus, his nephew; his inferior in learning, but his superior in genius and energy. The religious opinions of Faustus Socinus becoming generally known, he was obliged to quit Zurich. After much wandering, he settled at Racow. There he was received by the new communion with open arms; and he completed their system of theology. From him they derived their appellation of Socinians. The Polish churches committed to him and Peter Statorius, the task of revising the existing catechism, and printing it, in an improved form. Both died before they had completed the undertaking. It was then delegated to Valentine Smalcius and Jerom Moscorovius. By them it was finished, and published in 1605, in the Polish language. It is the work now known by the title of the Racovian Catechism and is considered to be the Confession of Faith of the Soci-

nians. In the year 1609, Moscorovius published a new edition of it; he prefixed to it a Dedication to James the First of England. An edition in the German language, dedicated to the Academy of Wittemberg, followed in 1612. Soon afterwards, John Cornelius, or Knoll, published a Dutch edition, but on account of some deviations from the original, and particularly the omission of the Articles relating to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, it was generally disowned. An English translation of the edition of 1605, was published at Amsterdam in 1652. Doctor Toulmin, in his Life of Socinus, ascribes it, seemingly by conjecture, to Mr. John Biddle.

Some years subsequently, this Catechism received considerable additions, as well as alterations, from the pens of Crellius and Schlichtingius. This enlarged edition was published in 12mo. in 1665, with a Prefatory discourse, on the right of private judgment in religion. A Dutch translation of it was published in 1666. In 1680, Andrew Wissowat republished the work in 4to., with some notes of his own, and some alterations, chiefly verbal and generally unimportant, of the text.

Another edition appeared in 12mo. in 1684. This contained all the notes given in 1680, with the addition of others by Benedict Wissowat, and an anonymous writer, who signs himself F. C., perhaps Florianus Crusius, a Socinian physician of some eminence. The body of this edition is, unquestionably, a part of the impression of the edition of 1665, the pages corresponding, and the errata being identically the same. The new part consists of the title-page, the notes of the two Wissowats, and F. C., which are printed at the end. Doctor Rees is now engaged on a translation of this edition.

In 1739, the edition of 1609 was reprinted at Frankfort, with copious notes, designed as an answer to its doctrines, by G. L. Oeder, a Lutheran divine: they are said by Mosheim to be successfully executed. He mentions a work, *Commentatio de Catechesi Racoviensi*, published in 1757, by S. A. Schmidius, and like the rest of that learned author's writings, now become extremely scarce.

The first Catechism of Racow ranks among the greatest ty-

pographical rarities: the second is nearly as rare; all the other editions, which we have mentioned, are scarce. A curious history of Socinianism was published at Paris, with the title, "*Histoire du Socinianisme, divisée en deux parties, ou l'on voit son origine et les progrès que les Sociniens ont fait dans differens Royaumes de la Chretienté, avec les characteres, les avantures, les erreurs, et les livres de ceux qui sont distinguez dans la Secte des Sociniens: à Paris* 1723, *qto.*" The best account of the Socinian Catechisms, which has fallen into the hands of the writer, is in the *Bibliotheca Theologica* of Walchius, tom. I. cap. IV. § 5. p. 533.

"The first principles of Socinianism," says Mr. Alban Butler, in his concise and learned account of it in his 'Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and other annual Observances of the Catholic Church,' (page 620), "are, that all scriptural doctrines are so to be understood, as to contain nothing above reason; no mystery; and that all the expressions, which seem to imply such things, are to be looked upon as lofty exaggerated phrases of the Oriental languages: for they pretend, that nothing is to be allowed in Faith or Religion, which our reason does not fully comprehend. Hence it follows, that Articles of Faith vary in proportion to men's capacities. Secondly, the Socinians teach, that Christ was formed by God; that he was an extraordinary man, born of the Virgin Mary; taken up to Heaven; and imbued with that portion of divine power and knowledge, which is called the Holy Ghost; and sent again on earth, God's ambassador to men, to teach them his will and law. They deny his death to have been a satisfaction for our sins; but say, that those who obey his precepts, which all men can do by the strength of their own nature, will rise again in their own bodies, and enjoy a happy life in that blessed place, in which God possesses his own beatitude: but the wicked shall be condemned to temporary torments, for a certain term; after which, they will be reduced to a state of annihilation. Some among them condemn all swearing, wars, and magistrates, and all capital punishments. Their form of church government differs little from that of the Calvinists. They baptize only the adults, and that by immer-

sion; and their notion of the Eucharist is such as a Zuinglian, or Calvinist, would allow."

From Poland, the doctrine of Socinus found its way into Transilvania, where, towards the 16th century, it obtained a legal settlement. By the Dukes of Transilvania, of the House of Batori, they were persecuted; but they survived the persecution, and preserved their legal establishments. From the beginning of the 17th century, they flourished till 1638, in which year, in consequence of the disorderly proceedings of some of the students at Racow, a law was enacted at Warsaw, which ordered, that the Academy of Racow should be demolished, its professor banished, the printing-house of the Socinians should be destroyed, and their churches shut. The persecution of them continued for many years; and finally, in 1658, by a public and solemn act of the Diet, held at Warsaw, all the Socinians were for ever banished from the State. The exiles dispersed themselves in the adjacent provinces, and penetrated into Denmark, Holstein, Holland, and England. For a time, their cause seemed to revive, under the favor of Frederick III. King of Denmark, Christian Albert, Duke of Holstein, and Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine. They nearly obtained legal settlements at Altona, Frederickstadt, and Manheim; but ultimately failed of success. Under every reverse of fortune, they have, however, preserved a legal establishment in Transilvania. At Coloswar, a fortified and populous town, their community is numerous; they have in it a public school and a printing-house. They have, however, circulated their principles in many parts of Europe, with much activity, and sometimes with considerable success, particularly in Transilvania, Prussia, and Holland. The principal works composed by them with this design, were published in 1656, in one great collection, entitled, *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, comprised in six large volumes folio. The second Racow Catechism is considered to be their Confession of Faith.

X. 2.

With the Socinians, *the Unitarians* are often confounded; but with great impropriety, as the Unitarians are the direct and legitimate descendants of the stock from which, we have already observed, the Socinians divaricated.

The principal difference between the Unitarians and Socinians, lies in their doctrines on the being and attributes of Jesus Christ. The Unitarians, while they consider Jesus Christ as a teacher sent from God, and afterwards raised by him from the dead, hold him to have been a mere man: but the Socinians hold Jesus Christ, though the son of Mary, to have been born of her, like Adam, without a father, by the extraordinary power of God. As such, they call him, though in a qualified sense, truly God, and enjoin his worship. In his Theses, *De Christo a vera divinitate excludendo nisi sit creator cœli et terræ*, Socinus expresses himself in the following terms: "If, by the term 'True God,' be understood the eternal self-existent Being, the proposition, *the Creator of heaven and earth, is the one only true God*,—is true. But if by this proposition be understood one, who *hath a true Divine power and dominion*—it is not true. For, though the Hebrew church knew no such true God, but him, who was the creator of heaven and earth—the Christian church acknowledges another true God, namely, the man Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ, who, at length, after being long expected in the reign of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, was first born, exhibited and made known to the world, and had *then* this divine majesty bestowed upon him, by the Creator of heaven and earth." In conformity with these sentiments, Faustus Socinus exhorts the Synod of Wœgro, in his letter to them, (Op. vol. 1. p. 491.) "to labor and take care, in the very first place, that the *adoration and invocation of Christ* may be secured in their churches."

In a more refined, and, if not in a more intelligible, at least in a more specious appearance, the doctrine of the Socinians,

respecting Jesus Christ, was produced, in the beginning of the last century, by Doctor Samuel Clarke. Tritheism, Sabellianism, and Arianism, are the three rocks, on one of which the adventurer in the Trinitarian controversy too often splits. Doctor Clarke professed to steer clear of the first, by denying the self-existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost—to steer clear of the second, by maintaining their derivation from, and subordination to, the Father; and to steer clear of the third, by maintaining the personality and distinct agency of every person of the Trinity.

In his celebrated work, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, he propounded his system with great clearness, and supported it with considerable strength and subtlety of argument. He met a powerful opponent in Doctor Hawarden, a celebrated clergyman of the Roman Catholic church. By the desire of Queen Caroline, the consort of George the First, a conference was held by them, in the presence of her Majesty, of Mrs. Middleton, a Roman Catholic lady, much in her confidence, and the celebrated Doctor Courayer.

When they met, Doctor Clarke, at some length, in very guarded terms, and with great apparent perspicuity, exposed his system. After he had finished, a pause of some length ensued: Doctor Hawarden then said, that "he had listened, with the greatest attention, to what had been said by Doctor Clarke; that he believed he apprehended rightly the whole of his system; and that the only reply which he should make to it, was, asking a single question:" that, "if the question should be thought to contain any ambiguity, he wished it to be cleared of its ambiguity before any answer to it was given;" but desired that, "when the answer to it should be given, it should be expressed either by the affirmative or negative monosyllable." To this proposition Doctor Clarke assented. "Then," said Doctor Hawarden, "I ask,—Can God the Father annihilate the Son and the Holy Ghost?—Answer me Yes or No." Doctor Clarke continued for some time in deep thought, and then said, "it was a question which he had never considered." Here the conference ended. A searching question it certainly was; and the reader will readily

perceive its bearings. If Doctor Clarke answered Yes, he admitted the Son and Holy Ghost to be mere creatures; if he answered No, he admitted them to be absolutely Gods. The writer of these pages has frequently heard the conference thus related, —particularly by the late Mr. Alban Butler, the president of the English college at St. Omers, and Mr. Winstanley, the Professor of Philosophy at the English college at Doway. It gave rise to Doctor Hawarden's "*Answer to Doctor Clarke and Mr. Whiston, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit; with a Summary account of the writers of the three first ages.*"

The Unitarians have no Symbolic Book; the book, which, from the universal respect in which it is held by them, approacheth nearest, in their estimation, to a document of that description, is Doctor Lardner's *Letter on the Logos*, published in 1730, and printed in the Eleventh Volume of the works of that very learned, very modest, and very instructive writer.

CHAPTER XI.

The Symbolic Books of the Church of England.

THE seeds of the Reformation were first sown in England by Lutheran hands. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the disciples of Calvin obtained great influence in all its ecclesiastical concerns. Queen Elizabeth adopted the whole of the discipline, and much of the creed, of the Lutheran church: but, in her final settlement of the creed and discipline, by the Thirty-nine Articles, she admitted a considerable proportion of Calvinism.

The Symbolic Books of the Church of England are the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. Such, too, of the oaths prescribed by the laws of England, as express theological doctrines, partake, so far as they are confined to these, of the nature of Symbolic Books—I. We shall, therefore, begin this article with an account of the English Theological Oaths: II. Then consider, successively, the Articles of Henry the Eighth: III. The Articles of Edward the Sixth: IV. The Thirty-nine Articles: V. The Canons: VI. The controversy on the authentic edition of the Thirty-nine Articles: VII. The Book of Common Prayer: and VIII. The Books of Homilies.

XI. 1.

The English Theological Oaths.

1. Among the Theological Oaths prescribed by the law of England, those, by which it is declared that the King is, and ought to be, the supreme head of the church of this realm, present themselves first to our consideration.

By a statute passed in the 26th year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was enacted, that, " His Majesty, his heirs and successors, Kings of England, should be the only supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England; and should have all the honors, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities belonging to that dignity; and full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, as ought or lawfully might be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction or supremacy."

By an Act of the 37th year of the same reign, it was declared, that " Archbishops, and the other ecclesiastical persons, had no manner of jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from his Royal Majesty; and that his Majesty was the only supreme head of the church of England and Ireland; to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power was wholly given, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical; and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever, and to all such persons, as his Majesty should appoint thereunto."

Language, it should seem, cannot confer spiritual power on a sovereign, or those to whom he shall please to delegate it, in terms more ample or explicit, than those adopted in these statutes. They were in force during the whole of the reign of King Edward the Sixth; were repealed by the first Parliament of Queen Mary; revived by the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth; have since continued, and are now in force. 1816

In the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the doctrine expressed in these statutes was inserted in an oath. Persons were required by it to swear, that " in their consciences, they testified and declared, that the Queen was the only supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate had or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm ; and that they renounced all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities."

Elizabeth, however, after the passing of this act, published a declaration, that, " nothing was or could be meant or intended by it, than what was acknowledged to be due to King Henry her father, or King Edward her brother ; and that she neither did or would challenge any other authority by the same, than what was challenged and lately due to the said two Kings ;—which was, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons within her realm or dominions, of what estates (either ecclesiastical or temporal,) soever they were, so as no foreign power should or ought to have any superiority over them."

" This explanation," says Dr. Heylin, " not giving general satisfaction, the Bishops and clergy, in their convocation of the year 1652, by the Queen's authority, declared more plainly, that they gave not to their Princess, by virtue of the said act, or otherwise, either the ministry of God's word or sacraments, but that only prerogative, which they saw always to have been given to all Godly princes in holy scripture, by God himself: that is to say, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they were ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

An act passed in the third year of King James the first, which prescribed an oath of allegiance and obedience. Both these oaths, and the oath of supremacy, prescribed by the act of the first of Queen Elizabeth, were abrogated by an act passed in the first sessions of the first year of King William and Queen Mary ; and by the same act, a new oath of allegiance and supre-

macy were established in their place. An act made in the second session of the first year of King George the first introduced a new oath of supremacy.

The explanations, by which Queen Elizabeth qualified the supremacy attributed to her, and still more the explanations given by King James the first in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*,—in his *Præmonition*,—and in his *Remonstrance for the Rights of Kings*, have induced some respectable writers, both Protestant and Catholic, to suppose, that the supremacy attributed to the Sovereign by the statutes, which have been mentioned, was only meant to express an unequivocal acknowledgment of the monarch's right to temporal sovereignty over the ecclesiastical, as well as over the secular part of his subjects; and a recognition, that all the civil power, by which ecclesiastical persons or ecclesiastical courts can enforce their spiritual rights or sentences, is derived from the crown. It is probable, that, if a legislative declaration should now be given of the sense, in which the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical concerns should be understood, it would be found to accord with this explanation. But to the writer of these pages it appears impossible to reconcile it, either with the language of the statutes, or of the oaths, which have been mentioned, or with the constructions, which the sovereigns of England, since the time of the Reformation, have evidently put upon them.

2. The other theological oaths are the *Declarations against Transubstantiation*, prescribed by an act of the 25th of King Charles II.; and the *Declaration against Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass*, prescribed by a statute passed in the 30th year of the reign of the same monarch.

XI. 2.

The Ten Articles and Six Articles of King Henry the Eighth.

I. Henry the Eighth's innovations in religion occasioning much diversity in the doctrine delivered in the pulpits, his Majesty, on the 12th of July, 1536, sent a circular letter to the Bishops, enjoining them to abstain from preaching, till the ensuing Michaelmas. In the mean time he framed *Ten Articles of religious credence,* and sent them to the Convocation, then sitting at St. Paul's.

It is observable, that, in foreign countries, a convocation, or ecclesiastical synod, consists wholly of Bishops: in England it is a miniature of a parliament. The Archbishop presides in regal state; the upper house contains the Bishops, and represents the House of Lords; the lower house is composed of representatives of the several dioceses, and of each particular chapter in them; and resembles the House of Commons, with its Knights of Shire and Burgesses.—But the honors of the houses of convocation should be spoken of, rather in the past than in the present tense: they still indeed have a legal capacity of existence; but have not, for nearly a century, been permitted to meet for business.

The Convocation having received the Ten Articles from the King, passed them unanimously. Baptism, Penance, and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with the doctrine of transubstantiation, auricular confession, and prayers to the saints were retained in them: they left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful.

II. In the Parliament of the year 1538, the last which was held in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the statute "for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion," commonly called "the statute of *The Six Articles,*" was passed.—All these six articles accord with the Doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

XI. 3.

The Forty-two Articles of Edward the Sixth.

In the fourth year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, it was resolved in council, to reform the doctrine of the church. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley accordingly framed forty-two Articles of Christian Doctrine. Copies of them were sent to several Bishops, and other divines, for their consideration. Being returned by them, the Articles were approved in council, and had the royal sanction. In the title page, they were styled "Articles agreed upon, by the Bishops and other learned men, in the Convocation, held at London in the year 1552, for avoiding diversity of opinion and establishing consent touching true religion, published by the King's authority." But it is certain by Cranmer's own admission, in the subsequent reign, that these articles never were submitted either to parliament, or to the Convocation. They are generally understood to be the same in substance as the Thirty-nine Articles.

XI. 4.

The Thirty-nine Articles.

In January, 1562, both the parliament and the convocation of the province of Canterbury were convened. It appears that the draught of the Thirty-nine Articles was presented to the convocation by Archbishop Parker; and that the convocation approved them unanimously. All the registers of the convocation having been burned at the memorable fire of London, our information of its proceedings upon the Articles must be derived from other sources, and these, unfortunately, are very imperfect. We find, that the Convocation first met at the Chapter-house at St. Paul's, on the 12th day of January, and

held thirty-six several sessions; sometimes at the Chapter house, and sometimes, by continuation, at King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. Archbishop Parker presided, and was the great mover of all its proceedings. The Convocation began by taking into consideration the Articles of Edward the Sixth. From forty-two, they reduced them to thirty-nine, making alterations in some of them. With these alterations, the Convocation adopted them unanimously; and thus, they had all the authority that the convocation of Canterbury could confer on them.

In 1566, a bill was brought into parliament to confirm them. It passed the Commons; but was dropt in the house of Lords, by the Queen's particular command. In the year 1571, the Convocation revised the articles of 1562, and made some alterations in them. In the same year an act was passed "to provide, that the Ministers of the Church should be of sound religion." It enacted, that all ecclesiastical persons should subscribe to "all the articles of Religion, which only concerned the confession of the true faith, and of the Sacraments, comprised in a book, imprinted, entitled "*Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy in Convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord God,* 1562, *according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, put forth by the Queen's authority.*" All the acts of parliament, made subsequently to this time, which mention the Articles, refer to this act, as settling the Articles, and the rule of subscription to them.

For some reason, which does not now appear, they were confirmed, in 1604, by the Convocation of Canterbury. In 1628, an edition of them, in the English language, was published by the royal authority. To this edition, a declaration of King Charles the First is prefixed. It is the exemplar of all the subsequent editions.

XI. 5.

The Canons.

Having given the substance of the Confession of Augsburgh, and mentioned the principal points, in which the confessions of the Reformed Churches generally differed from it, the nature of these pages seems to require, that we should now present our readers with a short view of the religious creed expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles, but we are sensible that our readers are too well acquainted with them to make this necessary.

An elegant account of the Creed which they contain, is given in his eighth Bampton lecture, by Doctor Eveleigh, the late learned and accomplished Provost of Oriel college. He concludes it by observing, " that they were principally intended to ascertain and deliver down the essential doctrine of Christianity;" that " the remaining parts of them were as obviously directed against the dangerous opinions of the different adversaries of the Church of England:" that " all, which was admitted on the latter head, was supplied in a considerable degree, under Elizabeth, by the *Canons* which she enforced during her government." These, he adds, " were permanently provided for by the body of Canons which were enacted in the first year of her successor's reign; and which at present describe and enforce the different parts of the ecclesiastical system of the Church of England; and were intended to supply the place of the Canons and Decretals of the Church of Rome."

From the former part of this work it appears, that the doctrines on which the Confessions of faith principally differ among themselves, respect Predestination and the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper. To these the 17th and 28th of the Thirty-nine Articles relate. The language in which these are couched shews, that the framers of them wished to express them in terms, which, if they did not conciliate, would not offend the maintainers of the opposite opinions.

XI. 6.

The Controversy on the Authentic Edition of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It has been mentioned, that the act of 1571, by which the Thirty-nine Articles were legally sanctioned, describes them, as "*the Articles of Religion comprised in a book, imprinted, entitled Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God,* 1562, *according to the computation of the Church of England, for avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent, touching true religion, put forth by the Queen's authority.*" The point on which the controversy in question wholly turns, is, *which is the imprinted book, thus described.*

This would be of no consequence, if we possessed the original manuscript, from which the book, to which the act of parliament refers, was printed: but the original manuscript was certainly burned in the fire of London.

The book to which the act refers, must be some book printed before the bill, which refers to it, was brought into parliament; and the book must have the title mentioned in the act. Now, both in the prior printed editions, whether in English, or Latin; and in the prior English and Latin manuscripts of the Thirty-nine Articles, which have reached us, there are numberless various readings; and some of these materially affect the sense of the text. This evidently makes it important to ascertain the edition referred to by the act of parliament of 1571. One of the most important of these various readings is to be found in the twentieth article.

In the text of the edition of 1628, and in all the subsequent editions, this article is expressed in the following terms. "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies; and authority in controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for

the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written; neither may it expound one place of scriptures, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so, besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."

It is doubted by many, whether the first paragraph of this article, " the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,"—was inserted in the printed copy of these articles, which was legislatively sanctioned by the act of 1671.

At the trial of Archbishop Laud he was accused of having fabricated this paragraph. With great indignation and eloquence he denied the fact; asserted, that it made a part of the clause as it stood originally, and charged his accusers with having wickedly caused it to be left out of the copies.

In 1710, the celebrated Anthony Collins revived the charge in a pamphlet, entitled, " *Priestcraft in Perfection, or a detection of the fraud of inserting and continuing this clause,—(The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith,) in the 20th Article of the Articles of the Church of England.*"

An able defence of the authenticity of the paragraph was published in 1710, under the title " *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of a late libel, entitled 'Priestcraft in Perfection,' wherein, the controverted clause of the Church's power in the 20th Article is shown to be of equal authority with all the rest of the articles: and the Fraud and Forgery charged upon the Clergy, on the account of this clause, are retorted upon their accusers; with a Preface containing some remarks upon the Reflections in that Pamphlet, by a Priest of the Church of England.*"

This was followed in 1715, by " *an Essay on the 39 Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and revived in 1571, wherein—(the text being first exhibited in Latin and English, and the minutest variations of 18 the most antient and authentic copies*

carefully noted),—An account is given of the proceedings of Convocation in framing and settling the text of the Articles. The controverted clause of the 20th Article demonstrated to be genuine: and the case of subscription to the articles is considered in point of Law, History and Conscience: with a Prefatory Epistle to Anthony Collins Esq. wherein the egregious Falsehoods and calumnies of the Author of Priestcraft in Perfection are exposed,—by Thomas Bennett, D. D. Rector of St. James's in Colchester."

To both these answers, a reply was published in 1724, entitled, "*An Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; wherein it is demonstrated, that the clause,—'the Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Controversies of Faith, inserted in the 20th Article,'—is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by act of Parliament, of* 13 *of Queen Elizabeth, or agreed by the Convocation of* 1562 *or* 1571."

All these works discover talent, research and discernment; but all of them are written with too great asperity.

Several other works, on the same subject, have been written; but it is probable, that nothing is contained in any of them, which is not to be found in those that have been cited.

They do not appear to the writer of these pages to lead to any certain conclusion. It is not his intention to discuss the question: he has the satisfaction of being able to inform the reader, that it is in the hands of the most learned Rector of St. Paul's Church, Deptford. The following remark only, he begs leave to present to the consideration of his readers.

All expectations of ascertaining, that any one of the printed editions, which have reached us, is the edition of the Thirty-nine Articles, referred to by the act of 1571, or expresses its text, must now be considered hopeless. But, as the act of 1571 mentions, that the articles contained in the printed book, are those "agreed on by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy at the Convocation held in London, in the year 1562," it may be thought, that the point may be gained, or

nearly gained, if the original manuscript, or even an authentic copy of those articles can be produced.

There are five known manuscript copies of the Articles extant, in which the negative clause is prefixed to the twentieth article.—One, in the library of Bishop Cozens, at Durham,—two in St. John's library, Cambridge,—one, in the public library, Cambridge,—and one, in the library of the Rector of Deptford, Kent.

On the other hand,—the negative clause is not inserted, in the manuscript, which was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Bennet College, in Cambridge, and which is now in the library of that College; and it has been strenuously and acutely contended, that this manuscript is the authentic instrument, or, as it has been sometimes termed, the Record of the Articles, as they were produced and agreed to by the Convocation. In the writer's opinion, this manuscript has a better claim than any other manuscript, or any printed document, to express the text of the articles, as it was settled by the Convocation; but cannot be the manuscript adopted by the Convocation.

It is signed with particular care by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by almost all the Bishops of his province; by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Durham and Chester, his suffragans; and by the whole lower house of Convocation. It has many alterations and erasures; at the end, there is mention not only of the number of pages, but of the number of lines in each page. In the memorandum of the signatures it is called the autograph, and is said to be in the custody of Archbishop Parker. These circumstances certainly give it great authority; the point to be ascertained, is what is the exact degree of authority, to which they entitle it.

Now,—when an important instrument is to be signed, and formally presented to the public, or to a public body, it often happens,—particularly if the parties interested are numerous, and known to entertain different views of its subject,—that a meeting is called; that a draught of the instrument is produced, and read, clause by clause; that numerous alterations are made in it, so as to render it unfit for presentation; and that a fair

copy for presentation is directed to be made: but that, in order to authenticate the tenor of what has been agreed to, the draught is signed and deposited with some respectable person for safe custody.

The writer suggests it to be very probable, that something of this nature took place in respect to the Thirty-nine Articles. The difference of opinion, on the subject of many of them, made it advisable, that, before they were discussed in convocation, the terms should be generally settled. For this purpose a draught would be prepared:—and may not the manuscript in Bennet College be this draught? This, all the circumstances of the draught render very probable.

But two circumstances absolutely negative the notion of its being any instrument or process of the Convocation. The first is, the mention of the pages in the subscription:—It is unknown and altogether inconceivable, that any respectable public body should have recourse to such a precaution in any of their records or solemn proceedings. The second is, the subscription of the Archbishop of York and his suffragans. The clergy of each province had its separate Convocation. It was the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, that was convened on this occasion:—Now the Archbishop of York, or his suffragans, could not concur in any *Convocational act* of the province of Canterbury, or subscribe any instruments of that province. Besides, —if we suppose it to be a convocational record, or a convocational transcript, it would have been deposited in the archives of the convocation, and not placed in the custody of the Archbishop.

It follows, therefore, that the manuscript in question is not a convocational record, or even a convocational transcript.

Still it is allowable to cite it as strong evidence of the text of the record. In all courts of judicature, it is a received rule of evidence, that, where the highest degree of evidence cannot be produced, the want of it may be supplied by the next degree that can be procured. Thus, when a deed has been burnt, the want of the original may be supplied by a copy, or even by a draught. Those who contend against such secondary evidence,

are at liberty to disprove it, by any circumstance which detracts from its value: but, speaking generally, when it cannot be disproved, the next degree of evidence is always allowed to supply the want of the first, when that cannot be obtained.

To a high degree in this secondary class of evidence, the Bennett College manuscript appears to be entitled. How far its value is lessened or encreased by the various other circumstances which accompany the case, is beside the present enquiry: —the writer conceives, that, (*each of them standing singly,*) no other copy printed or manuscript has yet been produced, which can be put into competition with it.

XI. 7.

The Book of Common Prayer.

That the Jews had set forms of prayer, and used them in their synagogues, has been satisfactorily shewn by Doctor Lightfoot: that the earliest Christians joined in the use of the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms, appears from several passages in the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolic Epistles: that, at an early period of christianity, Liturgies were in use, may be justly inferred from those ascribed to St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James, which Mr. Wheately in a work of real learning,—his *Rational Illustration of the Common Prayer*, (Introduction, p. 13), says " are doubtless of great antiquity." In the course of time, there was a variety of liturgies. In England, those of York, Sarum and Bangor, were particularly distinguished. Those of the middle ages generally consisted of the Missal, and the Breviary. The former contained the service of the Mass; the latter, those Forms of Prayer, consisting of Psalms, Hymns, and Lessons, which there was an obligation on the clergy to recite daily; and part of which was solemnly sung in the churches, every Sunday, and principal holyday, for the edification of the Laity.

The Liturgy soon attracted the notice of the Reformers. In

1537, a book was published, called *The Godly and Pious instruction of a Christian Man.* It contained in the English language, a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments. With some variations, it was re-published in 1540 and 1543, under the title of *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian Man.* In 1545, the *King's Primer* was published, containing, among other things, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Venite Exultemus, Te Deum and several Hymns and Collects.

Soon after the accession of Edward the Sixth, a committee of Divines was appointed to reform the Liturgy. They drew up offices for Sundays and Holidays; for Baptism, Confirmation and Matrimony; Burial of the Dead, and other special occasions; and formed them into one book. It was published by the common agreement and full assent of the parliament and convocations. In 1548, it was confirmed by an act of parliament, and declared "to have been composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost." Exceptions, however, were made to some passages. These were altered by Archbishop Cranmer, with the assistance of Martyn Bucer, and Peter Martyr, whom he had invited to England from Germany. Thus revised and altered, the book was confirmed by parliament, in 1551. Both acts were repealed in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, it was debated, which of the two books should be adopted. It was decided in favour of the latter, and by the act of uniformity, passed in the second year of her reign, the latter received, with some variation, the sanction of parliament.

Alterations were made in it, in the first year of James the First, in consequence of some things which had been said of it, at the conference at Hampton Court.

Immediately after the Restoration it was solemnly reviewed; some alterations were made, and the liturgy was brought to its present state. It was unanimously subscribed by the houses of convocation of both provinces, in December 1661. In the following March, an act of parliament was passed for its legal establish-

ment. It is there styled, "the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, as they are to be sung and said in churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons."

XI. 8.

The Homilies.

The Thirty-nine Articles, and Book of Common Prayer, are the only symbolic books of the Church of England. Next to them in authority are the Homilies. These are held in so much consideration, that recourse is sometimes had to them, to determine the sense of passages in the articles which have been thought dubious.

"They are," says Mr. Wheatley in his *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England,* "two books of plain sermons, (for so the word signifies), set out by public authority; one whereof is to be read on every Sunday and Holiday when there is no sermon. The first volume of them was set out in the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, having been composed, (as it is thought) by Archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley and Latimer, at the beginning of the Reformation, when a competent number of ministers of sufficient abilities to preach to a congregation was not to be found. The second volume was set out in Queen Elizabeth's reign."

CHAPTER XII.

The Symbolic Books of the Presbyterians and Independents.

From what has been mentioned in a preceding part of this work, it appears, that in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the church of England generally adopted the sentiments of Luther concerning the Eucharist, Ecclesiastical Government, and the Liturgy. During the reign of Edward the VIth, the church generally retained the same form of government and liturgy, but adopted much of the doctrine of Calvin. The change of religion, in the reign of Queen Mary, and the consequences of this change, drove many of the most zealous of the reformers into Switzerland. Some observed the form of worship of the English church; others preferred that of the Helvetic churches, on account of its greater simplicity. This distinction followed them, in their return to England, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the former received the denomination of Conformists, the latter those of Nonconformists and Puritans. By the legislative acts of her Parliaments, and the religious principles generally favoured during her reign, a larger portion of Lutheranism was introduced into the church of England. To these the German exiles and their adherents generally objected: some of them required, that the church of England should be modelled exactly after that of Geneva, and all other doctrines and rituals proscribed; the rest desired no more than liberty of con-

science, and liberty to celebrate the divine service in their own form. But the Queen systematically pursued her plan of religious coercion: new rules of discipline were established,—and the Articles of Faith received some modification. At length, the Act of Uniformity, a fruitful source of discord, was passed, enjoining all to submit to the reformation of the church, as it was then settled. To this, the Puritans could not reconcile their principles or their feelings: they objected to the Hierarchy and the doctrine of its divine institution; to the necessity of Episcopal ordination; to the vestments of the clergy; to the use of music in the church service; to the sign of the cross and to holy days. During the whole of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the contest between the established church and the Puritans, was on the increase; and many wholesome severities, to use the language of persecution, were inflicted on the Puritans. At first, the Puritans seemed to be favoured by her successor; he expressed a laudable desire to accommodate matters between the contending churches. With this view, he appointed the conference at Hampton Court. It was attended by nine Bishops and as many dignitaries of the church on one side, and by four Puritans on the other. James himself took a great part at the conference, and had the satisfaction to hear from Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, that, "undoubtedly his Majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit;" and, from Bancroft, the Bishop of London, that "the Almighty, of his singular mercy, had given such a King, as from Christ's time there had not been." "Whereupon," (says Strype, in the *Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift*, Book IV. CXXXI.) "the Lords with one voice yielded a very affectionate acclamation." His Majesty was highly delighted with his own display of talent at this extraordinary exhibition. In a letter preserved by Strype, (N. XLVI.) the Royal Theologian writes to one of his friends, that, "he had kept a revel with the Puritans for two days, the like of which was never seen; and that he had peppered them, as he (to whom he was writing,) had done the Papists: and that he was forced to say at last, that if any of them had been in a college, disputing with other scholars, and that any of their

disciples had answered them, in that sort, they themselves would have snatched him up, in place of a reply, with a rod."

From this time King James was a bitter enemy to the discipline and doctrine of the Puritans; and his enmity to them descended to his son, and contributed not a little to his misfortunes.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, an Ordinance was passed by both houses of Parliament, forming and convening an "Assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with, by the Parliament, for settling the Government and Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations." The Assembly consisted of 151 persons: ten Lords, twenty Commoners, and 121 Divines. The Lords and Commoners were called Lay-Assessors, and had an equal liberty of voting and debating with the divines. Among these were Sir Matthew Hale and Mr. Selden, men that would have done honor to any assembly. One Lay-Assessor and four divines attended from Scotland. The assembly was ordered to meet in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster: from that circumstance it obtained the appellation of "the Assembly of Divines at Westminster." It was opened on the 1st of the following July.

One of the first objects of deliberation was to prepare a Confession of Faith. This took much time: it was not finished till their sitting on the 22d of July, 1646. The English divines would have been satisfied with a revision and explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles; but the Scottish divines insisted on a distinct Formulary. On the 11th of December it was presented to Parliament by the whole assembly, in a body, under the title of *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines and others, now, by the Authority of Parliament, sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith.* The House of Commons voted thanks for it to the assembly, and desired them to insert in it, proofs of the doctrine which it expressed, and to print 600 copies of it, with the proofs. The proofs were accordingly added in the margin. On the 11th of May, in the following year, the Confession, with the scriptural proofs in its margin,

was sent to the press; and when it was finished, copies of it were delivered to all the members. The Commons then took it into consideration; and, unless prevented by more urgent business, discussed one chapter of it on every Wednesday. They made in it some alterations, and at a conference with the House of Lords, on the 22d of March, 1647-8, presented it to them. The Houses of Parliament agreed with the Assembly on the doctrinal part of the Confession, and in the following July, ordered it to be printed for the satisfaction of the Foreign Churches, under the title of "*Articles of Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with an assembly of divines, called together by them for that purpose.*" But there being a difference of opinion on some articles of discipline, they withdrew their assent from these. On that account these were not printed, by order of the House; but they stand in the Assembly's Catechism. Among them was the whole thirtieth chapter of *Church Censures and the Power of the Keys:* the thirty-first chapter, of *Synods and Councils:* a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter of *Marriage and Divorce:* and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines, *what opinions and parties disturb the peace of the church, and how such disturbers ought to be proceeded against, by the censures of the church, and punished by the civil magistrate.* These propositions, on which, (to use Mr. Neal's expression in his excellent History of the Puritans), "the very life of Presbytery consists, never were approved of by the English Parliaments, nor had the force of a law in this country. But the whole Confession, as it came from the assembly, being sent into Scotland, was immediately approved of by the general assembly and Parliament of that kingdom, and thus became a law of the Church and State."

While the assembly was engaged in preparing the Confession, they reduced it into the form of Catechisms; one longer, the other shorter. Both Catechisms were presented by the assembly to the House of Commons, approved by them, and printed by their authority.

The English Puritans divaricated into many divisions; the

principal of these are the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Independents. The Baptists have been mentioned. The Independents sprung from the *Brownists*, the most distinguished of the denominations, into which the Puritans divided. Mr. Brown, its founder, was a man of talents; his object was to model his party into the form of the Christian church, in its infant state. Being dissatisfied with the treatment which he received in England, he retired to the Continent, and founded churches at Middleburgh, Amsterdam, and Leyden. Thus abandoned by him, his English followers mitigated the extreme simplicity of his plan: and thus gave rise to the *Independents*, or *Congregational Brethren*. It is observable, that a part of the Brownist congregation established at Leyden, emigrated to America, and founded the colony of New England.

The Independents have two Confessions of Faith: the former was drawn up by Mr. John Robinson, a disciple of Brown, and was published at Leyden in quarto, in the year 1619, under the title, *Apologia pro exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur*. The latter appeared in London, for the first time, in the year 1658, with the title, "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised by the Congregational Churches of England, agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October the twelfth, 1658."

"During those times, when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honor and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinction and preferment, it was impossible, (says Mr. Hume,[1]) to set bounds to these holy fervors, or confine within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degree of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the Independents

[1] History, c. 47.

went a note higher than the Presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

" The Independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government amongst pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The enthusiasm of the Presbyterians led them to reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office. The fanaticism of the Independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervors of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with heaven.

" The Catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution. The Presbyterians imagining that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice. The Independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat

in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits, and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all Christian sects, this was the first, which during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism. Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seems to tend towards superstition, were treated by the Independents with rigour. The doctrines, too, of fate or destiny were deemed by them essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Scottish Confession of Faith.

THE reformed church of Scotland acknowledges as its founder the celebrated John Knox, a disciple of Calvin. From its foundation, it adopted the doctrine and ecclesiastical government of the church of Geneva. In 1581, King James, with his whole family, and the whole nation subscribed a Confession of Faith, with a solemn league and covenant, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government. The title of this Confession is, "A General Confession of the true Christian Faith and Religion, according to God's word, and Acts of our Parliament, subscribed by the King's Majestie and his household; with sundrie others. To the Glory of God, and good example of all men. At Edinburgh, the 28th day of Januarie. The year of our Lord 1581. And in the 14th year of his Majestie's Reign."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Irish Confession of Faith.

When Henry the Eighth was declared supreme head of the church of England, George Brown, an Augustinian monk, whom that monarch had raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, caused the Royal Supremacy to be acknowledged in that portion of Ireland, which was said to be within the English pale, and in many other parts of the kingdom, where the power or influence of the English Government particularly prevailed. It was further extended, by the Archbishop's exertions, during the reign of King Edward the Sixth. On the accession of Queen Mary, the acts, which established the Protestant religion, were repealed. They were re-enacted by the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth, and the Irish dioceses were filled with Protestant Bishops. But the general body of the nation continued Catholic. King James the First was very desirous of bringing over the body of the nation to the Protestant religion, and employed a multitude of missionaries in the work of their conversion. They consisted chiefly of Scottish and English puritans; and thus, though Episcopacy were the legal establishment, the reformation of Ireland had chiefly a Presbyterian foundation. It being thought advisable that, in imitation of other churches, some articles of their common faith should be framed, and legally sanctioned, it was moved in convocation to adopt the

articles of the English Church: but the convocation came to a resolution of forming a confession of their own. Such a confession was accordingly framed by Doctor James Usher, then Provost of Dublin College, and afterwards Lord Primate, and approved by the houses of convocation. It passed both houses of Parliament; and, being sent over to the English court, was approved in council, and ratified in the king's name, by the Lord Lieutenant Chichester. The title of it is, "Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the Clergy in Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions and the establishing of consent touching the true religion." This confession continued in force till the year 1634, when, by the influence of Archbishop Laud, and the Earl of Stafford, it was set aside, and the thirty-nine articles established in its place.

CHAPTER XV.

The Confession of Faith of the Anabaptists.

Mosheim's elaborate, though concise account of the Anabaptists, (*Cent.* XIII. *Pars* II. *ch.* 3,) is, perhaps, the best, which has yet appeared of this important denomination of Christians. He mentions in it, that they are deducible from the Waldenses, Petrobussians and other ancient sects. "Before," (to use his own words, Cent. XVI. C. III. Sect. 2.) "the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrines, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained; some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz. *That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established on earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressions.* This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities, that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Anabaptists, and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved by many of those, who before the dawn of the Reformation, entertained the notion, already mentioned, relating to

the visible church of Christ." Persons of this sect were not likely to be satisfied with the system of reformation introduced by Luther. They looked upon it as much below the sublimity of their views, and proposed to found a new church, entirely spiritual and truly divine.

The most remarkable of their religious ritual related to the sacrament of baptism; they contended that it ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed, not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them into it. For this reason, they condemned the baptism of infants, and re-baptised all, whom they admitted into their society. This gave them the name of Anabaptists.

In this ceremony, there was nothing inconsistent with the order of civil society or civil government: but they held tenets absolutely incompatible with either,—" that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that taking interest for the loan of money, tythes and tribute ought to be entirely abolished, that, in the kingdom of Christ, civil magistrates were absolutely useless, and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions." (Mosheim, Cent. XVI. ch. III. sect. 5.)

At first they contented themselves with employing the arts of persuasion, to propagate their doctrines; but they soon had recourse to violence, and involved many parts of Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and violence. Their zeal frequently amounted to frenzy; and many sovereign states enacted severe edicts against them, and strove to repress them by capital punishments: but, for a long time, the attempt was fruitless; the unhappy objects of the edicts preferring death, in its most terrible forms, to a retractation of their errors. The scenes which were exhibited at Munster are generally known. In that city, and many other parts of Germany and Holland, they committed, to use the language of Mosheim, "all the enormous crimes and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest." But the recapture of the city of Munster, the painful and ignominious death, inflicted on John Bockhold, the mock monarch of it, and

the sanguinary persecutions, in almost every part of Europe, of these fanatics, greatly lessened their numbers, and introduced a better spirit among the survivors.

Two things, however, should not be forgotten. In the persecution of the Anabaptists religious principles were too often admitted as evidence of the actual commission of crime; and even when the ferment was at its utmost height, there were not wanting among them many, who, while they admitted the religious tenets, condemned and deplored the disorganising principles and rebellious proceedings of their brethren.

Among these, was the celebrated Simon Menno, a Roman Catholic priest, who embraced the Anabaptist communion. By his eloquence, learning, conciliating manners, and indefatigable exertions, he obtained the confidence of its members, and availed himself of it to restore them to social and peaceful habits. The guarded manner, in which he himself expressed and accustomed his followers to express their doctrines, disposed the public mind to view them, if not with kindness, at least with pity. Such was the reverence, in which he was held by them, and the space which he filled in the public eye, that, on the continent, they received from him the name of Mennonites, and are more frequently called on the continent, by that, than by the name of Anabaptists. In this state, they are said by Mosheim to be descendants of the original Anabaptists, but to be purged from the fanaticism, by which these were disgraced. Soon after Menno's decease, they branched into two divisions, the refined and the gross, or the rigid and the moderate. The former are few in number; the latter are numerous, particularly in Holland. There, under the protection of William, the first Prince of Orange, and Maurice his son, they obtained a considerable degree of legal toleration.

They have published several confessions of faith. Five of them were printed at Amsterdam, in 1675, in one volume 8vo. The most remarkable of these is that composed by John de Ries, assisted by Lubert Gerard, in 1580, and one, signed by them in 1626, in which, by disavowing the most offensive tenets imputed to them, they successfully attempted to propitiate the favour of the United States.

The descent of the English Baptists from the Mennonites, and still more their descent from the Anabaptists, parents of these, is very problematical. At first, they were known under the name of Brownists; with both they agree in their administration of Baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants and persons in tender years: but, in almost every other particular, they differ from each. They have none of the Anabaptist prejudices against lawful war and magistracy. They are divided into General or Arminian Baptists, and Particular or Calvinistic Baptists. The latter are most numerous; their discipline and form of worship are those of the Presbyterians. There cannot be a stronger contrast between two religious sects than that which is observable between the original Anabaptists and the English Baptists. These have ever possessed and still possess many persons of great learning, integrity, and liberality. Among them may be reckoned Mr. Solom Emlyn, so scandalously persecuted for his religious principles.

The Calvinistic Baptists published, in 1643, a confession of faith, mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Brittannique*, *Tom.* VI. *p.* 2. and another confession of faith, in 1660, published by Mr. Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, *Vol.* II. *p.* 561.

At Baptism, they dip once, and not three times, and esteem it indifferent, whether the sacrament be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. They believe in a kind of Millennium, and that the Apostolic Ordinance against things strangled was intended for perpetual observance, that the soul, from the moment of the death of the body, remains, till the day of general resurrection, in a state of insensibility: many of them observe both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath. They have three ecclesiastical orders, bishops, (whom, from the language of the book of Revelations, they style messengers,) elders, and deacons.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Symbolic Books of the Quakers.

This denomination of Christians had rise in England during the civil wars. The founder of it was George Fox, a shoemaker, of an enthusiastic turn of mind.

To tremble at the divine judgments, was one of the duties most frequently inculcated by him and his associates. Being summoned before Mr. Justice Bennett, in 1650, they ordered the magistrate to tremble at the word of the Lord. This fixed on them the appellation of Quakers. With this explanation, they are not unwilling to accept it: but, on account of a fundamental principle of their religion, they prefer the appellation of *Children or Confessors of the Light*. In their intercourse with one another, they constantly use the appellation of Friends.—Friends to humanity, they certainly have been; they have uniformly reprobated religious persecution; uniformly advocated the cause of civil liberty. Their charities to the members of their own association, their incessant endeavours to promote harmony among them, their contempt of the gauds of life, and their universal beneficence, are beyond praise. We owe to them, the abolition of the Slave Trade; they have been the great promoters of the Lancasterian system of education; and at this time are actively employed in effecting the repeal of the statutes which sanction punishment by death. The method which they adopt to carry their salutary designs into execution,

deserves the highest commendation: they collect all the facts, which serve to place the object in their view in its true light, and all the arguments which support the doctrines which they wish to inculcate. These, they assiduously circulate in every literary form, from operose disquisition, to familiar instruction. Thus, even without the slightest contentious effort, they insensibly produce a salutary effect on the public mind: and, at a propitious time, submit their plans to the legislature.

The doctrine of the Quakers was refined and reduced to a consistent form, by Mr. Robert Barclay; and some of his writings are their standard books.

Vide He first published his *Catechism*: the title of it is, "*A Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved of, and agreed unto, by the General Assembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Christ himself chief speaker in and among them. Which containeth a full and faithful account of the Principles and Doctrines, which are most surely believed by the churches of Christ, in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers, yet are found in the one Faith with the primitive church and saints, as is clearly demonstrated by some plain scripture testimonies, without consequences or commentaries, which are here collected, and inserted by way of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar expressions, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest capacities. To which is added, an Expostulation with, and Appeal to, all other Professors. By Robert Barclay.*" The Preface to the Reader is dated, "*From Urie, the place of my being, in my native country, in Scotland, the 11th of the 6th Month,* 1675." It consists of 18 chapters: the 14 first, contain his *Catechism*;—the 15th, a *Short Introduction to the Confession of Faith*;—the 16th, *the Confession of Faith*, in 23 articles;—the 17th, *a short Expostulation, with an Appeal to all other Professors*;—the 18th, "*a short Examination of some of the Scripture Proofs alledged by the Divines at Westminster, to prove diverse articles in their Confession of Faith and Catechism.*"

Not long after the publication of his Catechism, Mr. Robert

Barclay published his *Theses Theologicæ*, with the following address: "To the Clergy, of what sort soever, unto whose hands soever these may come; but more particularly to the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian, or any other; Robert Barclay, a servant of the Lord God, and one of those, who, in derision, are called Quakers, wishes unfeigned repentance, unto the acknowledgement of the Faith." Vede

It was speedily followed by his "*Apology for the true Christian Divinity; being an explanation and vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the persons called Quakers;*" with a Dedication to Charles the Second, dated the 25th of November, 1675. It is a logical demonstration of the Propositions in the *Theses Theologicæ;* and is universally considered to shew an uncommon power of mind. It was immediately translated into almost every European language, and presented to all the Ministers at the Congress of Nimeguen.

These are the symbolic and standard books of the Friends. It has been alleged, that they are expressed so guardedly, as to conceal, in some measure, their real doctrine, or, at least, its ultimate tendency. These, it is said, are more easily discoverable from "*The Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony, vindicated by Scripture, reason, and authorities, against the injurious attempts that have been lately made by several adversaries.*" Vede

This work appeared in 1674; the first part of it was written by Penn, and the second by Whithead, one of his most distinguished disciples.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.

The Confession of Faith of the Eastern Church.

(*Referred to in page* 19.)

1.

The Title of the Confession, and the Pastoral Letter prefixed to it.

THE Title of this work is, "*Ορθοδοξος Ομολογια της Καθολικης και Αποστολικης Εκκλησιας της Ανατολικης. Hoc est, Orthodoxa Confessio Catholicæ atque Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ Orientalis, cum interpretatione Latinâ et Versione Germanicâ. Præmissa est Historia hujus Ομολογιας seu Catechismi, a D. Carlo Gottlob. Hofmann S. S. Theol. Prof. Primar. in Academia Wittebergensi Consist. Past. et circ. Elect. Saxon. General. Superintend. Wratislaviæ, apud Jo. Jacob. Horn. MDCCLI. oct. p. 259.*"

The Catechism is preceded by an historical account of its composition and publication: this is followed by an address, or, what would be called in Europe, a pastoral letter, from Nectarius, "by the grace of God, Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, and all Palestine; to all orthodox readers, his beloved brethren, and sons in the Lord." It is dated the 20th Nov. 1662. We are then presented with a letter, of which the following is a literal translation:

"Parthenius, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome; and Œcumenical Patriarch. Our mediocrity, together with our sacred congregation of chief bishops and clergy present, hath diligently perused a small book, transmitted to us by our true sister, the church of Lesser Russia,

entitled, *The Confession of the Orthodox Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ;*" in which the whole subject is treated under the three heads of *Faith, Charity,* and *Hope,* in such a manner, that *Faith* is divided into twelve articles, (to wit, those of the sacred Nicene symbol) *Charity* into ten precepts, and such other precepts as are contained in the sacred and divinely inspired books of the Old and New Testament, which Christians are bound to hold: *Hope,* into the dominical prayer, and the nine beatitudes of the sacred Gospel.

"We have found that this small book follows steadily the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and agrees with the sacred canons, and, in no respect differs from them. As to the rest, to the other part of the book, that which is in the Latin tongue, on the side opposite to the Greek text, we have not referred, in our perusal; so that we only formally confirm that which is in our vernacular tongue. With our common and synodical sentence, we decree, and we announce to every pious and orthodox Christian, a member of the eastern and apostolic church, that this book is to be diligently read, and not to be rejected. Which, for the perpetual faith and certainty of the fact, we guard by our subscriptions. In the year of Salvation, 1663, 4th day of March."

Then follow the subscriptions of,

"Parthenius, by the divine mercy, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome; and Œcumenical Patriarch,

"Joannicius, by the mercy of God, Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and Judge of the whole world;

"Macarius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of Antioch, the great city of God;

"Paisius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem;

"The Bishops of Ancyra, Larissæ, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Berrhæa, Rhodes, Mythymnæ, Lacedæmon and Chios; and thirteen church officers.

II.

The First Book of the Catechism.

The Catechism is divided into Three Books.

The first Book contains, One Hundred and Twenty-six Questions, and as many Answers.

II. 1. The first Question is, " *What must an Orthodox and Catholic Christian hold and perform,* that he may become, at a future time, heir of eternal life?"

The answer is,—" Right faith and good works; for he, who observes these, is a good Christian, and hath the hope of eternal salvation: witness the sacred Scripture, (James ii. 24), " *Do you see that man is justified by works, and not by faith only:*" and, a little after, " *For as the body, without the spirit, is dead; so faith, without works, is dead.*" The divine Paul adds the same in another place, (1 Timothy, i. 19.), " *Having faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, have been shipwrecked in respect to their faith:*" and, in another place, he says, (1 Timothy, iii. 9.), " *Having the mystery of faith with a pure conscience.*"

The second Question is, " Why should a Christian first believe, and afterwards do good actions?"—To this it is answered, " Because none can please God without faith, according to the saying of Paul," (Heb. xi. 6.), " *It cannot be, that, without faith, any person should please God; for it is necessary that he, who approacheth to God, should believe that* HE *is, and that* HE *is the rewarder of those, who seek him diligently.* Therefore, that a Christian should be acceptable to God, and that his works should be grateful to him, it behoveth him, first to have faith; then, that he should compose and conform his life to the rule of faith."

The third Question is, " In what things do these two consist?" It is answered, " In the three theological virtues: in Faith, in Hope, in Charity."

This serves as a preliminary chapter.

II. 2. The first part of the Catechism begins with the Question, "*What is Faith?*" "Faith," it is answered, "is, according to the blessed Paul, (Heb. xi. 1.) *the substance of those things, which are hoped for, and the evidence of those things not seen. And, for this, the antients obtained a good testimony.*" Or, faith may be defined thus; "*The Orthodox, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith, is to believe in the heart, and to profess by the mouth, One God, and three persons:*" (τρισυποστατον), according to the doctrine of Paul himself, (Rom. x. 10.) "*By the heart it is believed to justice: by the mouth, confession is made to salvation.*" Moreover, the Orthodox Christian should believe, (Synod. VI. Can. XXXII.) all the articles of faith, which the Catholic and Orthodox Church believes, delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ, through his Apostles, to his Church, and exposed and approved by the Œcumenical Councils; and these, he is bound to embrace, with true faith, according to the precept of the Apostle, (2 Thess. ii. 15.), '*Therefore do you, brethren, persist to hold the tradition which you have learned from our speech, or by letter.*' Again, in another place, (1 Cor. xi. 2.) '*I praise you, brethren, because you hold all my words in memory, and because you retain the traditions, as I delivered them to you.*' From this, it is manifest, that the Articles of Faith owe their authority and approbation, partly to the sacred scripture, partly to ecclesiastical tradition, and the doctrine of the councils, and the Holy Fathers." In confirmation of this doctrine, a passage from the works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, (Hier. Ecc. c. I. page 108, ed. Morell,) is cited.

The Catechism then proceeds in these words: "The Dogmata of the Church are two in number, and of two kinds: some are consigned in the writings, which are comprised in the divine books of sacred Scripture. Others were delivered by the Apostles, by their living voice. And these are the doctrines, which afterwards were more fully declared by the Councils and the Holy Fathers; and, on those two foundations, faith is superstructed."

II. 3. By the fifth Question, it is inquired, "*How many are the articles of the Catholic and Orthodox Faith?*" It is

answered, that " they are twelve, according to the symbol of the first Council of Nice, and the second of Constantinople. In which councils, all things which appertain to our faith, are so accurately expressed, that nothing more and nothing less should be believed by us, nor should they be believed in any other sense or understanding, than that in which those Fathers understood them."

II. 4. The *Twelve Articles* are then successively propounded and explained.

In the explanation of the FIRST ARTICLE, *I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth,* much is said of the being and attributes of the Deity, and the fall of Man; on Providence, Fate, and Free-will; and on the nature and office of Angels. The good Angels are described, as incessantly employed in singing the praises of God. Kingdoms, churches, monasteries, individuals, are said to be committed to their care; and it is added, that under the direction and pleasure of the Almighty, they render innumerable services to man. The bad Angels are said to have fell from their state of happiness by their own fault, and to be the enemies of man.

The SECOND ARTICLE, " *And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of God, and born of the Father before all ages; God of God; begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made:*" is expressed in the same terms as ours. The answer to the ninth Question acknowledges, unequivocally, the consubstantiality of the son, and proves it by the Three Heavenly Witnesses mentioned in 1 John, v. 7.

The THIRD ARTICLE, as it is expressed in the Roman Catholic and English Liturgies, " *Who for us men and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, and was incarnate* BY *the Holy Ghost* OF *the Virgin Mary, and was made man,*" is discussed at some length. It commences at the thirty-seventh Question. In the Greek text, as it is given in the Catechism, there may be thought to be more than a literal variation from that of the Roman Catholic and English versions. The expression in the Greek text is σαρκωθέντ' ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ

Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, incarnatus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine—incarnate *of* the Holy Ghost and *the* Virgin Mary.

On the part, which mentions that the Son of God "was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," the catechism inculcates the necessity and utility of devotion to the Virgin Mary, in the following words, in its 40, 41, and 42 answers—"As Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, was held worthy to fulfil so great a mystery, all the Orthodox, as is just and pious, ought, in justice and according to her merit, to praise and venerate her, as the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; or rather, as the mother of God. For which reason, the church has framed a salutation of her, from the words of the Archangel and St. Elizabeth; and to this, the church has made a small addition of her own." It states the salutation in the following words: "*O Virgin! Mother of God! Full of Grace! the Lord is with thee! Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb; because thou hast begotten the Saviour of our souls:*—This the church, in virtue of her right and authority, has ordered,—that the blessed Virgin should be frequently and earnestly worshipped, and celebrated by this salutation. Moreover, the salutation, when it calls the Virgin, *Full of Grace*, teaches, that because she is the Mother of God, she partakes of divine grace, in a greater degree, than any other created being; and, on that account, deservedly extols her above the cherubs and seraphs. For, advanced far beyond the choirs of the Angels, she stands with all her honors and dignity at the right hand of her son, according to the language of David, (Psalm xlv.) 'The Queen sits at your right hand, in gilded robes, dressed in various colours.' Now the Orthodox Christian ought to recite the salutation, and implore the intercession of the Virgin with great devotion. For the prayer of the Virgin is of great weight with the piety of the Son."

The Fourth Article, "was crucified for us, under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried," is the subject of the 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51st Questions and Answers. The 50th Answer inculcates the necessity of the frequent use of the sign of the cross, and quotes St. Cyril, the Bishop of

Jerusalem, in the beginning of the 5th century, for his recommendation to the faithful, to make "*the Venerable Sign of the Cross, when they eat, drink, sit, walk, speak, or are silent; to begin nothing without previously making it, to make it at home, on the road, by day, by night, and in every place.*" (*Catec. XIII.*) The Catechism then describes, in the following words, the method of making the sign of the cross: "First, with the three first fingers, touch the forehead, and say, '*In the name of the Father:*' then, bring down the hand, in the same form, to the breast, and say, '*And of the Son:*' then, move the hand to the right shoulder, and say, '*And of the Holy Ghost,*' moving the hand, while you say these words, from the right to the left shoulder, and conclude with the word '*Amen.*'" This form of making the sign of the cross differs from the form, in use in the Western Church. The words are the same, and the figure of the cross is observed; but, in the Western Church, the hand is moved from the breast to the left shoulder, and thence to the right. Some have supposed that this difference between the Greek and Western Churches is owing to the difference of opinion between them, on the procession of the Holy Ghost:—But Cardinal Bona, (Op. 824), mentions the form used in the Greek Church, as a form used in ancient times, in some parts of the Latin Churches. In making the sign of the cross, the Greek Priests generally bow to the ground, and almost touch it with their foreheads; their ease and rapidity in doing it can scarcely be conceived by those, by whom it has not been seen.

The Fifth Article, "who, on the third day rose again according to the Scriptures," employs the 52, 53, and 54th Questions and Answers.

The Sixth Article is expressed in the following words: "who ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father;"—and employs one Question and Answer. In the latter, this article is said to contain four articles of Faith:—1st. "That Christ ascended into Heaven, and, with glory and praise, took his seat at the right hand of the Father, in the same body as that in which he had suffered on the cross, and rose from the dead.—2ndly. That he ascended into Heaven, so

far only as he was man; for that, as God, he always was in Heaven, and all other places.—3rdly. That Christ, having once assumed human nature from the blessed Virgin, never laid it down, and that, clothed with the same body, he will come to judgment.—4thly. That Christ, now, is in Heaven only; and is not on earth, in that mode of his body, which he formerly used, while he resided on earth; but that, in the sacramental mode, in which he is present in the sacred table, he is, by transubstantiation, present on earth, the same Son of God, both God and Man. For the substance of bread is changed into the substance of the sacred body, and the substance of wine into the substance of his precious blood:—wherefore it behoves us to venerate and adore the sacred Eucharist, as our Saviour Jesus Christ himself."

The Seventh Article is expressed in these terms: "and shall come again in glory, to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end;" and employs the 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, and 68th Questions and Answers. These articles explain the doctrines of the Greek Church on the condition of the dead. It seems to consist of the 8 following points:—1. That Christ is to return to earth, and judge all mankind:—2. That he is to judge them according to their thoughts, words, and deeds:—3. That a sentence of eternal happiness or eternal misery will then be pronounced on each individual, but that the judgment on each will be generally manifested, not separately pronounced:—4. Yet that, though each person at his death is separately judged, the sentence is not executed till the day of judgment, their knowledge of it forming between their deaths and the universal judgment, their happiness or misery:—5. That the happiness of the good, and the misery of the wicked, in the next life, differs in degree, but endures for eternity:—6. That there is no middle place, in which the soul is purged of his crimes by temporary suffering:—7. But that many are snatched and liberated from the gates of hell, in consequence of the pious works and prayers of the survivors; and particularly in consequence of the unbloody sacrifice, which the church offers for the living and the dead:—8. But that the dead

do not participate of the prayers and sacrifices offered for them; these being in the nature of suffrages or intercessions with God.

The EIGHTH ARTICLE;—is expressed in the catechism, in the following terms:—"And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father; and, together with the Father and Son, is adored and glorified, and who spoke by the prophets." This article employs the 70th, 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, and 81st Questions and Answers.

It is generally known that the great point of difference between the Latin and Greek churches, is, that the former maintains, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and the latter maintains that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. The opinion of each church is anathematised by the other.

A second charge is brought by the Greeks against the Latins, that they interpolated the genuine text of the Nicene Creed, by foisting into the text, the words, "*and the Son—Filioque.*" On this point 3 things are clear,—1st, That they were inserted in the French and Spanish copies of the Creed, before they were inserted in the Roman; 2d, That Pope Leo the Third, though from the first he explicitly avowed and propounded the double procession of the Holy Spirit, yet disapproved, in the first instance, of the insertion of the words in question in the symbol, as an alteration of the original text; 3d, But that, soon after they had been inserted by the French and Spanish churches, they were inserted and chaunted in the Roman liturgies. (See Petav. Dogmata Theologica, l. 7. p. 362.) Through the whole of the dispute, the conduct of Leo was marked with great good sense and moderation. When the Missi of Charlemagne pressed him to declare, that all who rejected the *Filioque*, or at least, all who rejected the doctrine must be damned, he checked their precipitancy; "all," he said, "are not capable of understanding the higher mysteries: he, who is capable of understanding them, and will not, cannot be saved—(Collect. Conc. tom. ix. p. 277, 286)."

The NINTH ARTICLE of the Creed,—"I believe in the one

Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,"—begins with the 97th question and answer. The Catholic Church is said to contain all particular Catholic churches. A primacy of rank is said to have been assigned to the church of Jerusalem, for its being the only church that was favoured with the presence of Christ; the first church that was honoured by the preaching of the gospel, the first that received the forgiveness of sins, and the blessing of salvation, and the church, from which the tidings of the gospel were propagated throughout the world.—Afterwards, (continues the Catechism,) the Emperors conferred a superiority of rank on ancient and new Rome, as the seats of empire, and it was confirmed to them by the 3d canon of the second Œcumenical council of Constantinople.

The Catechism reckons nine precepts of the Church. 1. To assist on Sundays or Holidays at the divine offices of the Church: 2. To observe the four solemn fasts: 3. To reverence the ministers of God, as Spiritual Fathers: 4. To make a confession of sins, four times a year, to a priest regularly ordained: 5. To avoid reading the books of heretics: 6. To pray to God for every state and order of men: 7. To observe the fasts and devotions commanded by the metropolitan or Diocesan Bishop: 8. To respect the property of the Church, and provide her ministers with a suitable maintenance; 9. Not to solemnize marriages in times forbidden by the Church.

The questions and answers on the TENTH ARTICLE of the Nicene Creed;—" I confess one Baptism for the remission of sins," extend from the 97th to the 120th. " Baptism," says the Catechism, " being the first mystery of the Church, this seems a proper place to discuss her seven mysteries; Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Priesthood, Honourable Marriage, and Extreme Unction. These answer to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, because, by them the Holy Ghost infuses his gifts and graces on those who use the sacraments properly: on which subject the patriarch Hieremias treats at length, in his book for converting the Lutherans.

" A mystery is a certain holy ceremony, which, under a visible sign, is the cause of invisible grace, and infuses it into the soul;

it is instituted by our Lord, and by it each of the faithful receives grace."

The Catechism then explains these mysteries successively. Respecting the Eucharist, (question and answer, 106), it says,—" under the visible species of bread and wine, Jesus Christ is present truly and properly, that is, in reality." It then (question and answer 107) describes the ceremony, and proceeds,—" at the instant of the consecration, the priest is to say, O God! send down thy spirit from heaven upon us, and upon these proffered gifts. Make the bread, the precious body of thy Christ; and that which is in the cup, make the precious blood of thy Christ; transforming them by the holy spirit. While he pronounces these words, the transubstantiation (μετουσιωσις), is instantaneously effected; the bread is changed into the true body of Christ, the wine into his true blood, the species of each remaining visible by the divine disposition. Both Priests and laity should participate of this mystery under both kinds, viz. both of the bread and the wine. Moreover the honor shewn to these tremendous mysteries, should be equal and similar to that which is shewn to Christ himself."

The ELEVENTH ARTICLE, " I expect the resurrection of the dead," employs the 120, 121, 122, 123, and 124th questions and answers.

The TWELFTH ARTICLE, " and the life of the world to come," employs the three remaining questions and answers.

III.

The second and third parts of the Catechism.

The 2d and 3d parts of the Catechism, treat principally of the duties of man:—as the present work is confined to the creeds of Christians, a slight mention only, of these parts of the Catechism suits this place.

The SECOND PART contains a brief exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The words, " For thine are the kingdom and power

and glory for ever," are mentioned as an epilogue to the prayer. The answer to the 28th question, observes, that speaking generally, these words, when a clergyman is present, should be pronounced by the clergyman only, on account of the loftiness of the sentiments which they express: but recommends that they never should be omitted.

Nine Beatitudes are reckoned:—The verse (V. Mat. 11.), "Blessed are ye, when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is naught against you, for my sake: rejoice and exult, for great is your reward in heaven," form the ninth. In treating of the beatitude of the merciful, the catechism reckons seven works of spiritual and seven of temporal mercy. This part of the catechism contains 63 questions, and as many answers.

The THIRD PART contains 72; and treats of good works, the four Cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance; original and voluntary sin, the 7 capital sins, Pride, Avarice, Fornication, Envy, Gluttony, Desire of Revenge and Sloth. Of Despair and Presumption; of the 3 sins against the Holy Ghost; of murder, oppression of the poor, and undutifulness to parents,—sins which, even in this life, are said to bring down Divine vengeance on the offenders:—of venial sins; of the manner by which we become guilty of the sins of others; of the two commandments of Christ; and the ten precepts which are derived from them. The worship of God alone, is said not to forbid the invocation of the saints, as friends, through whose intercession God sometimes pleases to bestow his favours.

The fifth answer states, that "there is a great difference between images and idols. For idols are mere works or inventions of men, as the apostle testifies, when he says, (1 Cor. viii. 4,) '*we know that an idol is nothing in the world.*' "But an image is the representation of a thing that really exists in the world. Such is the image of our Lord and Saviour Christ; and the images of the holy Virgin Mary and all the Saints. Moreover, the pagans adored the idols as gods; believing, as did Nebuchodinoser of old, that the gold and Silver of them was God

But, when we venerate and adore images, we do not worship the colours tinctured on the wood, or the wood itself; but we worship the saints represented by the images, with that kind of veneration which is termed *Dulia:* thus bringing their presence into our minds, as if we beheld them with our eyes. For example, when we adore the images of Jesus crucified, then in the eye of the mind, we place Christ himself, hanging on the cross for our salvation; and we bend our heads and knees to him, with a religious act of thankfulness. In the same manner, when we venerate the image of the Virgin Mary, then we ascend in mind to the most holy mother of God, and bend our head, and bend our knee to her. It is clear, therefore, that this adoration of holy images, received in the orthodox church, does not derogate from the precept. For it is not the same adoration as that which we pay to God; nor is it paid by the orthodox to the image or painting, but to the persons of those saints, which the images represent."

NOTE II.

(*Referred to in page* 54.)

"*The Visitatorial Articles published in* 1502, *in the Electorate and Provinces of Upper Saxony, and proposed and ordered to be subscribed and observed by the Judges of Consistories, Superintendents, Ministers of Churches and Schools, and by the Administrators of Ecclesiastical Property, and also by Patrons and Collectors.*"

"ARTICLE I.

"*On the Sacred Supper.*

"*The pure and true Doctrine of our Church, on the Sacred Supper.*

"I. THAT the words of Christ, "Take and eat, This is my Body; Drink, This is my Blood;" are to be taken simply, and according to the letter, as they sound.

"II. That, in the Sacrament, there are two things, which are exhibited and received together; one, earthly, which is bread and wine; the other, heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ.

"III. That the Union, Exhibition and Sumption are done here below, on the earth; and not above, in the heavens.

"IV. That the true and natural body of Christ, which hung

on the cross, and the true and natural blood, which flowed from the side of Christ, are exhibited and received.

" V. That the body and blood of Christ are received in the Supper, not only spiritually by faith, which might be done out of the Supper; but, by the mouth, with the bread and wine; yet, in an inscrutable and supernatural manner; and this for a pledge and ascertainment of the resurrection of our bodies from the dead.

" VI. That the perception of the body and blood of Christ by the mouth, is had, not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy, who approach it without penance and true faith; but with different effect.—By the worthy, it is received for salvation; by the unworthy, for judgment.

" ARTICLE II.

" *Of the Person of Christ.*

" The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on the Articles of the Person of Christ.

" I. In Christ, there are two distinct natures, the divine and human. These remain eternally, unconfined and inseparable (or undivided).[1]

" II. These two natures are personally, and in one another so united, that there is but one Christ and one person.

" III. On account of this personal union, it is rightly said, and in fact and truth it really is, that God is man, and man is God; that Mary begat the Son of God; and that God redeemed us by his own proper blood.

" IV. By this personal union, and the exaltation which followed it, Christ, according to the flesh, is placed at the right

[1] The words in the parenthesis are in the original.

hand of God, and has received all power in heaven and in earth, and is made partaker of all the divine majesty, honor, power, and glory.

"ARTICLE III.

"*Of Holy Baptism.*

"*The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on this Article of Holy Baptism.*

"I. THAT there is but one Baptism, and one Ablution; not that, which is used to take away the filth of the body, but that, which washes us from our sins.

"II. By Baptism, as a bath of the regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, God saves us, and works in us, such justice and purgation from our sins, that he, who perseveres to the end in that covenant and hope, does not perish, but has eternal life.

"III. All, who are baptized in Jesus Christ, are baptized in his death; and by baptism are buried with him in his death, and have put on Christ.

"IV. Baptism is the bath of regeneration; because in it we are born again, and again sealed by the Spirit of adoption, from favor (or gratuitously).[1]

"V. Unless a person be born again of water and Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"VI. Whatever is born of the flesh is flesh; and, by nature, all of us are children of divine wrath: because we are born of sinful seed, and we are all born in sin.

[1] The words in the parenthesis are in the original.

" ARTICLE IV.

" *On Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God.*

" *The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on this Article.*

" I. THAT Christ died for all men, and, as the Lamb of God, took away the sins of the world.

" II. That God created no man for condemnation; but wills that all men should be saved, and arrive at the knowledge of truth: He therefore commands all to hear Christ, his Son, in the Gospel; and promises, by his hearing, the virtue and operation of the Holy Ghost, for conversion and salvation.

" III. That many men, by their own fault, perish; some, who will not hear the Gospel respecting Christ; some, who afterwards fall from grace, either by fundamental error, or by sins against conscience.

" IV. That all sinners, doing penance, will be received into favour; and none will be excluded, though his sins be red as blood; as the mercy of God is greater than the sins of the whole world, and God hath mercy on all his works.

" *The false and erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists follows.*

" *On the sacred Supper.*

" I. That the before-cited words of Christ are to be understood figuratively, and not according to the letter, as they sound.

" II. That bare signs only are in the Supper; but the body of Christ is as far from the bread, as the highest heaven from the earth.

" III. That Christ is present therein, by his virtue and operation, and not in his body. As the sun, by his splendor and operation, is present and effective on earth; but the body of the sun exists above in heaven.

" IV. That the body of Christ is therein a typified body, which is only signified and prefigured by the bread and wine.

" V. That the body is received by faith alone, which raiseth itself to heaven, and not by the mouth.

" VI. That the worthy only receive it, that the unworthy, who have not the faith, which ariseth to the heavens, receive nothing besides bread and wine.

" *The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.*

" *On the Person of Christ: which differs, in particular, from the third and fourth Article of the more pure doctrine.*

" I. That God is man, and man God, is a figurative mode of speech.

" II. That human nature hath communion with the divine, not in fact and truth, but in name and words only.

" III. That it is impossible to God, by all his omnipotence, to effect, that the natural body of Christ, which is in one place, should, at the same time and instant, be in several.

" IV. That, according to his human nature, Christ hath, by his exaltation, received only created good and finite power; and doth not know and cannot do all things.

" V. That, according to his humanity, Christ reigns, where he is absent, as the king of Spain governs his Islands.

" VI. That it is a damnable idolatry, to place the hope and faith of the heart in Christ, not singly according to his divine, but also according to his human nature, and to direct the honor of adoration to both.

"*The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.*

"*On Holy Baptism.*

"I. That Baptism is an external washing, by which a certain internal ablution from sin is merely signified.

"II. That Baptism does not work, nor confer regeneration, faith, the grace of God, and salvation, but only signifies and seals them.

"III. That not all, who are baptized in water, but the elect only, obtain by it the grace of Christ, and the gifts of faith.

"IV. That salvation doth not depend on baptism, and therefore in cases of necessity, should not be permitted in the church; but when the ordinary minister of the church is wanting, the infant should be permitted to die without baptism.[1]

"V. The infants of Christians are already holy before baptism, in the womb of the mother, and even in the womb of the mother, are received into the covenant of eternal life: otherwise the Sacrament of baptism could not be conferred on them.

"*The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.*

"*On Predestination and the Providence of God.*

"I. That Christ did not die for all men, but only for the elect.

[1] This article stands in the original, "Salutem non dependere a Baptismo, atque ideo, in casu necessitatis, non permittendum esse, in Ecclesiâ; sed in defectu ordinarii ministri Ecclesiæ, permittendum esse, ut infans sinè Baptismo moriatur." The case of necessity referred to in this place, seems to denote the circumstance, where a minister cannot be procured in time to baptize the child, while he lives. The Article seems to assert it to be a doctrine of the Calvinists, that baptism, being merely a rite, and not being necessary to salvation, and the minister being, by the discipline of their church, the only proper minister of baptism, it is improper, that, even in this case of necessity, it should be conferred by any other; and the child therefore should in such a case die without baptism.

"II. That Christ created the greater part of mankind for eternal damnation, and wills not that the greater part should be converted, and live.

"III. That the elected and regenerated cannot lose faith and the Holy Spirit, or be damned, though they commit great sins and crimes of every kind.

"IV. That those, who are not elect, are necessarily damned, and cannot arrive at salvation, though they be baptized a thousand times, and receive the Eucharist every day, and lead as blameless a life, as ever can be led."

ESSAY I.

A SHORT

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THE following Essay may be found to give a succinct account —I. Of the nature of religious profession, in respect to the vows, taken by persons entering into religion, of obedience, poverty, chastity, and stability: II. Of the Eastern monks: III. Of the Western monks, or Benedictines; of the congregations, which have diverged from them; and of the introduction of lay-brothers into the monastic state: IV. Some account of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin: V. Of the four Mendicant orders, the Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite friars, and the Hermits of St. Augustin: VI. Of the Society of Jesus: VII. Of the Oratorian, Lazarist, and Sulpician communities: and VIII. Of the Military Orders of the church of Rome.

Those, who wish to see these subjects more fully treated, may consult *l'Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires,* 8 *vol.* 4*to.* by Father Helyot, a Franciscan Friar.—

This work, and the particular historians which we shall notice, in this Essay, will give the reader an accurate view of the Rules and Constitutions of the several Orders.

I.

Every Christian is bound, by his baptismal vows, to practise the precepts of the Gospel. A religious person, in the sense, in which that word is used in the ecclesiastical law of the Church of Rome is a person, engaged by a solemn vow, to practise, during his whole life, the counsels of the Gospel, in a mode, prescribed by a rule, approved by the Pope. *A vow,* is a promise made to God, to perform a good work, which is not a duty of obligation. *A simple vow,* is a vow, made secretly, and without solemnity; *a solemn vow,* is a vow made, with certain public ceremonies. The vow, made by a person, who professes himself of a religious order, is a solemn vow. The person received into it, pronounces, in public, the formulary of the vow prescribed by the order, and signs it with his hand; it is then registered. To the validity of the Religious Vow of Profession, the Council of Trent requires, that the party should have completed his sixteenth year, and should have passed through a year's noviciate.

In the early ages of the monastic state, those, who engaged in it, did not bind themselves to it by vow: when a vow was first made an essential part of monastic profession, is uncertain.

The vows of every religious order oblige the persons, who make them, to obedience, poverty, chastity and stability.

I. 1. The vow of *obedience* obliges them to a perfect submission to the rule of the order; and also to the will of the superior, in all things, not inconsistent with the law of God, or the word or spirit of the rule.

I. 2. The vow of *poverty* renders the person, who takes it, incapable of inheriting or acquiring property, except for the benefit of the order; and renders his enjoyment, even of the slightest article of property, as a book or a watch, absolutely dependent on the will of his superior. In respect to his inheriting or acquiring property for the benefit of the order, it is to be observed, that, in some countries, as in certain parts of Italy, it is

modified, in others, as in France, it is altogether prohibited, by the national law. Where it is prohibited, the religious person, in respect to property, is supposed to be civilly dead. This was the case in England before the Reformation; and it deserves attention, that the English law did not then notice or admit the proof of foreign profession, and therefore did not interfere with the property, in this country, of any person, professed abroad. The reason was, that if, in the English secular courts, it became necessary to ascertain, whether a person were a professed religious, the judges issued a writ, addressed to the bishop of the diocese, in which the party was alleged to have been professed, directing him to inquire and certify, whether the party were a professed monk, or not; and the bishop's certificate was the only regular evidence of the fact. Now, as a foreign bishop was not amenable to the jurisdiction of an English court, such a writ could not be effectually served on him.

I. 3. The vow of *chastity* consists in the renunciation of marriage.

I. 4. In the formulary of profession used in the Benedictine and some other orders, the party expressly vows *stability*, or perpetual residence, within the monastery, unless the superior dispenses with it. Where the vow does not express stability, it is always implied. But, stability is understood, in some orders, in a much looser sense, than it is in others.

II.

The Monastic State originated in the East. In the earliest ages of Christianity, many persons, in imitation of the Rechabites, the prophets, and St. John the Baptist, under the Judaic dispensation, embraced a life of solitude, and dedicated all their time to prayer, fasting and other exercises of a penitential life. Cassian mentions that, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, a large number of Christians lived in separate houses, apart from the world, and wholly devoted to prayer, pious meditation, and silent labour. They were called "Monks," from

a Greek word, signifying, a person living alone. For the same purpose of pious retirement, others, particularly in times of persecution, retired to inaccessible mountains or lonely deserts. Of these, the first whose name has reached us, is St. Paul, usually called the first hermit. In the 250th year of the Christian æra, he retired to the Upper Egypt; and, having attained his 113th year, died in 341. About the same time, St. Anthony, after spending many years in perfect solitude, permitted a numerous body of men to live in community with him, and to lead, under his direction, a life of piety and manual labour, sanctified by prayer.

St. Pachomius was the first, who composed a written rule for the conduct of monks. The communities under his direction inhabited the desert of Tabenne, a small island in the Nile, between the town of Girgè and the ancient Thebes. Thirty or forty of them occupied one house; thirty or forty houses composed a monastery, and the desert of Tabenne contained about thirteen monasteries. A dean was placed over every ten monks; every house had its superior, every monastery its abbot, and a general director superintended all. Every Sunday, all the monks of the monastery met at its common oratory: and, at Easter, the monks of all the communities, sometimes amounting to 50,000, assembled in one body, for its celebration. It sometimes happened, that, after passing several years of a monastic life, a monk, aiming at higher perfection, retired, with that view, to a stricter solitude. This divided the monks into two classes, the *Cœnobites*, who lived in community, and the *Anchorites*, who lived in separate cells. Each separate cell was sometimes bounded by a small inclosure; their general precinct was called a Laura. With such establishments, Ægypt and Libya abounded. The number of these monastic establishments was very great: almost all of them were destroyed by the Saracens: the few, which remain, are described by Father Sicard, (*Missions du Levant, tom.* II. *pa.* 29—79, *tom.* V. *pa.* 122—200.)

Such was the origin of the monastic state.—Nothing in sacred biography, is more interesting than the accounts of its founders,

and their most eminent disciples. These were written by their contemporaries, and have been translated into almost every modern language.—Every Roman-catholic recollects with pleasure, the exquisite delight, with which, when he was at school, he perused the Lives of the Venerable Fathers of the Desert, the name assigned to them by the Roman-catholic church, as they are written by Arnaud d'Andilly in his *Vies des Pères du désert* 3 *vol.* 8*vo. or* 2 *vol.* 4*to:* by Villefore, in his *Vies des Saints Pères des déserts d'Orient et d'Occident*, 5 *vol.* 12*mo.:* by Rossweide, in his *Histoires des Vies des Pères des déserts*, 1 *vol. fol.* by the late Doctor Challoner, in his *Lives of the Fathers of the desert*, 1 *vol.* 8*vo.* and by Mr. Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, of which a stereotype edition, in twelve volumes octavo, with elegant engravings has lately appeared.

Similar establishments of monastic communities, but much fewer in number, were established for the female sex.

III.

St. Athanasius introduced the Monastic State into the West.

III. 1. About two hundred years after its introduction, St. Benedict, an Italian monk, framed his religious rule for the government of a convent at Mount Cassino, between Rome and Naples, over which he presided. It was formed on that of St. Pachomius, and contained the same division of time, for prayer and manual labour: the same silence and the same solitude: but there was some relaxation in the article of diet. St. Pachomius allowed his disciples twelve ounces of biscuit, to be taken by them at two repasts; one, early in the afternoon; the other, late in the evening, with an occasional, but not a very frequent allowance of cheese, fruit, herbs and small dried fish. Meat was expressly forbidden by St. Benedict, to be served to his disciples except in serious illness. They were indulged by him, with a daily allowance of half a pint of wine: which his

disciples exchanged, in the northern climates, for a proportional allowance of strong beer or cyder. His rule was embraced by all the monks of the West.

Among the benefactors to humanity, none, perhaps, are entitled to a higher rank, than the disciples of St. Benedict. A celebrated Protestant historian, M. Mallet, in his *Histoire des Suisses ou Helvetiens*, (tom. 1. p. 105) expresses his opinion of the services rendered by them to society, in the following terms:

" The christian clergy, like the druids of Gaul, were the only " depositaries of knowledge; the only lawyers, physicians, as- " tronomers, historians, notaries; the only persons, acquainted " with the Belles-Lettres; the only persons who could instruct " youth;—except among them, profound ignorance reigned " every where. The monks softened, by their instructions, " the ferocious manners of the people; and opposed their " credit to the despotism of the nobility, who knew no other " occupation than war, and grievously oppressed their sub- " jects and inferiors. On this account, the government of " the monks was preferred to theirs. The people sought them " for judges: it was an usual saying, that it was better to be " governed by a bishop's crosier, than a monarch's sceptre. " The monks were engaged in useful employments; they clear- " ed and cultivated desert and savage lands. We find that, in " many places, where those missionaries established themselves, " agriculture, next to preaching, was their principal occupation. " Where St. Gal built his church, he planted a garden and reared " a flock of sheep: he recommended to his disciples to support " themselves by the labour of their hands. Was it possible that " such men should not be venerated, both during their lives and " after their deaths? Can, then, history reckon up such a supera- " bundance of men, who have devoted themselves to the welfare " of their neighbours? At a later period, the monks were cor- " rupted by riches and power: this is the common fate of men: " but, at the time of which we are now speaking, they had never " been other than respectable. The monastery of St. Gal had also " a school, which by degrees became famous; both laymen and

" persons, who devoted themselves to the church, flocked to it
" in crowds; there, they copied; there, several precious works
" of ancient writers were discovered, which must have perished
" in the general confusion of barbarous ages, without these
" asylums, where religion still threw out some light. When we
" consider the profound ignorance of the nations, who in-
" vaded the Roman empire, and established themselves on its
" ruin, their exclusive passion for war, their contempt for the
" sciences, the arts, and even for writing, one perceives that
" every thing then concurred to produce in Europe, the barbarism
" which had reigned so long among the Celts, the Scandinavians
" and Sarmatians. What was it, which, in this æra of the
" Roman empire, preserved the human mind from being plunged
" into the darkness of the greatest barbarism, and from losing
" the last remains of Greek and Roman lore? For this blessing,
" mankind is indebted to the Christian religion. Nothing less
" than the power of religion could subdue those barbarous pre-
" judices, which carried the contempt of the sciences, even to
" writing. It was necessary that there should be a sacred book,
" which made the knowledge of writing indispensable:—a par-
" ticular class, an order of informed men, bound to study and
" teach its contents." It should be added that in every age and country, the Benedictine monks have rendered the greatest services to religion. Few nations can read the History of the first introduction of Christianity among them, without being sensible of their obligations to the Benedictine monks; their services to literature have been equally great; the shelves of libraries, to use Mr. Gibbon's strong expression, groan under the weight of Benedictine folios.

" The world," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, for the month of December, 1811, " has never been so deeply indebted
" to any other body of men, as to this illustrious order; but histo-
" rians, when relating the evil of which they were the occasion, have
" too frequently forgotten the good, which they produced. Even
" the commonest readers are familiar with the history of that arch-
" miracle-monger St. Dunstan; while the most learned of our
" countrymen scarcely remember the names of those admirable

" men, who went forth from England, and became the apostles
" of the north. Tinian and Juan Fernandez, are not more
" beautiful spots on the ocean, than Malmsbury and Lindisfarne,
" and Jarrow in the ages of our heptarchy: a community of pious
" men, devoted to literature and to the useful arts, as well as to
" religion, seems, in those ages, like a green oasis, amid the de-
" sert; like stars in a moonless night, they shine upon us with a
" tranquil ray. If ever there was a man who could truly be called
" venerable, it is he, to whom that appellation is constantly fixed,
" Bede, whose life was past in instructing his own generation, and
" preparing records for posterity. In those days the church
" offered the only asylum from the evils to which every country
" was exposed; amidst continual wars the church enjoyed peace;
" it was regarded as a sacred realm, by men, who, though they
" hated each other, believed and feared the same God. Abused,
" as it was, by the worldly-minded and ambitious, and disgraced by
" the artifices of the designing and the follies of the fanatic, it
" afforded a shelter to those, who were better than the world in
" their youth, or weary of it in their age; the wise, as well as the
" timid and the gentle, fled to this Goshen of God, which enjoyed
" its own light, and calm amid darkness and storms."

III. 2. In consequence of the general devastation and confusion occasioned in Italy, by the Lombards, in Spain, by the Saracens, in France, by the civil wars among the descendants of Charlemagne, and in England, by the irruption of the Danes—the Benedictine monks fell from their original fervour into great disorder. St. Odo, restored it, with some modification, in his monastery at Cluni: and several monasteries adopted his reform. They were called the Congregation of Cluni; but, by degrees, the congregation of Cluni itself wanted reform; and the general decline of virtue and piety in the Benedictine order was so great, that, in the beginning of the eleventh century, it was difficult to find a single monastery, where even a faint likeness to the state, in which the order had been left by its original founder, was discoverable. But, towards the middle of the eleventh century, several eminent men arose in the Benedictine order, who endeavoured to restore it to its ancient purity; and while each of them

added some new statute or custom to the original rule, each of them became the founder of a *congregation* or *secondary order*, adhering, in essentials, to the order of St. Benedict, but differing from it, in some particular observances. Such are the Carthusians, the Camadules, the Celestines, the monks of Grandmont, the congregation of St. Maur, and the order of Citeaux,—and the filiation from them, the Monks of la Trappe.

" I believe," says the Protestant authoress of the elegant *Tour to Alèt and the Grande Chartreuse,* " that very few, even among " Protestants, have visited la Trappe, without being struck with " the heavenly countenances of these recluses, with the truly ange- " lic discourse, which flows from their lips as from a fountain of " living water. It is impossible to describe the gravity, benignity, " peace and love, visible in most of their aspects, or the humility, " yet self-possessed politeness and attention in their manner. " When they are asked, why they chuse this seclusion, their an- " swer is uniform : To glorify God, to repent of our sins, and to " pray for the unhappy world, which prays not for itself."

III. 3. St. Benedict admitted both the learned and the unlearned into his order. The first, recited the divine office, in the choir ; the second, discharged several duties, which regarded the household œconomy, and the other temporal concerns of the monastery. At this time, the regular recitation of the divine office was only a practice of monastic discipline: at a subsequent period, it was made the general duty of all priests, deacons, and subdeacons ; and became of course, the duty of all the religious, who had entered into any of those orders. As it was performed in the choir, it became a general practice in the Benedictine order, to admit none into it, who were not sufficiently instructed to recite the office in the choir ; but it was not required that they should be priests, or even be in holy orders. All St. Bernard's brothers were professed religious, but none of them was in orders.—Afterwards, the Benedictines judged it advisable to admit into their order many, who, from ignorance, or some other circumstance, were incapable of the duty of the choir, and to employ them in the menial duties or other laborious employments of the house. This introduced *Lay Brothers*

into the Benedictine order. At first, they were rather attached to the general body of the order, than a portion of it; but, in time, they were acknowledged, both by the church and the order, to be a portion of the order, and in the strictest sense of the word to be professed religious.—In its admission of lay-brothers, the Benedictine order has been followed by all other religious orders, both men and women. In 1322, the Council of Vienne, ordered all monks to enter into the order of priesthood, and to be instructed for it accordingly.—The monks of Vallombrosa in Tuscany, are the first among whom lay-brothers are found with that name.

Few of our readers will have patience to peruse the *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti of Mabillon,* in six volumes, in quarto, or his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti,* in nine volumes, in folio: they will find the substance of them in *Bulteau's Abrégé de l'histoire de Saint Benoit, 2 volumes, quarto,* 1664.

IV.

The Canons Regular of St. Augustin derive their origin from certain respectable ecclesiastics, who, in the 8th century, formed themselves into a kind of middle order, between the monks and the secular clergy. They adopted so much of the monastic discipline, as to have their dwellings and table, in common, and to assemble, at stated hours, for the divine service; but they made no vows; and often discharged the functions of the holy ministry, in churches committed to their care. Thus, they rendered essential service to religion.—By degrees, they degenerated; but, in the 12th century, a considerable reformation was introduced among them, under the auspices of Pope Nicholas the second. Some of the members, among whom it was introduced, formed themselves into communities, which had a common dwelling and common table, but each individual, after contributing to the general stock, employed the fruits and revenues of his benefices, as he thought expedient. Others, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo, bishop of Char-

tres, subjected themselves to an austere mode of life; they renounced their worldly possessions, all private property, and lived in a manner resembling the austerity and discipline of a monastic life. This gave rise to the distinction between the *secular* and the *regular* canons.—The former observed the decree of Nicholas the second; the latter conformed to the directions of Ivo; and being formed on the rules and suggestions laid down by St. Augustin, in his Epistles, the observers of them became generally called the *Regular Canons of St. Augustin.* They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church. A spirit of relaxation having found its way into the order, St. Norbert attempted to restore it to its primitive severity. He first introduced his reform into his convent at Prémontré in Picardy; it spread throughout Europe, with great rapidity; and, from the convent, in which it was first established, the communities, which embraced it, were called the *Premonstratenses.*

An account of the Canons regular of St. Augustin, and of the Premonstratenses, is given in a work, entitled *Joan. le Paige, Bibliotheca Ordinis Premonstratensis, præsertim vero Sancti Augustini regulam profitentibus, utilis maximeque necessaria. Par.* 1633, in folio.

It remains to add, that *Convents of Nuns* were founded, the institutes of which corresponded with those of the religious orders and congregations which we have noticed, and with some of their principal reforms.

V.

For many centuries, the Benedictines, and the congregations which emanated from them, and the Canons of St. Augustin, constituted the only monastic orders of the West: but, in the 13th century, the Mendicant Orders arose: these were, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustin.

V. 1. *The Franciscans* were founded by St. Francis, the son of a merchant of Assissium in the Province of Umbria. He had little human learning, but, in the science of the saints, he had few equals. From humility, he called the brethren of his order, Friars-minors, or, the Little Brethren, and composed a rule for them, which the Pope approved. They chiefly exerted themselves in the laborious parts of the sacred ministry. In hospitals, in prisons, among the lowest orders of the poor, in every place, where labour or danger attended the exercise of the functions of the ministry, or where there was a total absence of remuneration, the Franciscan friars were sure to be found. But it was not only in the lower walks of the ministry, that they laboured; many of them were eminent for their learning; many have filled the highest dignities of the church, and some have worn the Triple Crown.

There are three orders of St. Francis. The first of them, soon after the decease of St. Francis, divaricated into the *Conventual Friars*, who admitted some mitigations into their practice of the rule, and the *Observantine Friars*, who derived their name from their stricter observance of it. In France, they were called *Cordeliers*, from a cord, with which they girded their habit. Reforms have sometimes been introduced among the Observantines; the principal of the reformed congregations are, the *Recollects*, or Grey Friars, who received their name from the Spanish word Ricogidios, which signifies reformed: and the *Capucins*, who received their appellation from a patch, worn by them on the back of their habits.

The Second Order of St. Francis, is that of the Poor Clares, and is remarkable for its extreme severity.

The Third Order of St. Francis, was instituted by him for persons of both sexes, living in the world, but united by certain rules and exercises, compatible with a secular life; and not binding under sin, but serving as rules for their direction. This institute was imitated by the Dominicans and Carmelites. There were some monasteries, particularly in Flanders, of Nuns, who were called of the Third Order of St. Francis: they vowed inclosure, and had a mitigated rule.

The Annals of the Order of St. Francis are written in 17 volumes, in folio, entitled *Lucæ Waddingi, Annales Minorum, seu Historia Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco institutorum, Editio secunda, studio Josephi Mariæ Fonseca. Romæ* 1731, *&c.* Wadding was an Irishman: *Father Harold*, also an Irishman, published a good abridgement of this work, and a continuation of it, in two volumes.

V. 2. St. Dominic, from whom the *Dominicans* derive their name, originally adopted, for the government of his disciples, the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. Afterwards, he substituted for it, the rule of St. Benedict; but with so many alterations, as almost made it a new rule. Public instruction was its great object: on this account, the disciples of St. Dominic were, at first, called Preaching Friars.

The history of the Order of St. Dominic, is elegantly written, by Father *Touron*, a monk of that Order, in six volumes, quarto. A complete edition of the *Hibernia Dominica of Thoma de Burgo* Col. Agr. 1762, is one of the greatest typographical curiosities. The Supplement is not easily found, and, in the work itself, the pages, from 136 to 147, are wanting in most editions.

V. 3. Some writers have endeavoured to derive the origin of the *Carmelites* from Elias. They allege, that, after the decease of that prophet, an uninterrupted succession of hermits, inhabited Mount Carmel, down to the time of Christ and his Apostles; and that, having embraced, in the earliest years of Christianity, the Christian religion, they continued their succession to the twelfth or thirteenth century, when the rule of the Carmelites, as it is now observed, was communicated to St. Simon Stock, their general, by divine revelation. At that time, they were established at Palestine: Alberic, their fifth general in succession from St. Simon Stock, removed from Palestine; and houses of the order, were established in many parts of Europe. A reform was introduced into the order by the exertions of St. Theresa. Those, who embraced the reform, were, from their not wearing shoes, called the Discalceated, or Unshodden Carmelites, in opposition to those, who continued Calceated, or shodden.

The history of the Carmelites is written in the *Speculum Carmelitarum*, published at Antwerp, in four volumes, in folio, in 1680.

V. 4. *The Hermits of St. Austin*, derive their institute from a bull of Pope Alexander IV. which collected into one order, under that name, several orders of hermits, and prescribed a rule for their government.

V. 5. The four orders, which we have mentioned, are the only orders, which the church has acknowledged to be *mendicant*. An order is considered to be mendicant, in the proper import of that word, when it has no fixed income, and derives its whole subsistence from casual and uncertain bounty, obtained by personal mendicity. To that, St. Francis did not wish his brethren to have recourse, till they had endeavoured to earn a competent subsistence by labour, and found their earnings insufficient. "With my own hands," he says in his testament, "I laboured and wish to labour; and I earnestly wish all my brethren to labour incessantly, for a decent livelihood. Let those, who have not learned any laborious employment, learn one; not from an improper desire of the profit of labour, but, as a good example, and to keep off idleness: and, when we do not receive the wages of our labour, let us then approach the table of the Lord, and beg from door to door." But, soon after the decease of St. Francis, the exertions, equally incessant and laborious, of his disciples, for the spiritual welfare of the faithful, appeared, in the universal opinion of the church, to be both incompatible with manual labour, and much more than a compensation to the public, for all they could possibly obtain from it by mendicity. This opinion was unequivocally expressed by St. Thomas of Aquin, and sanctioned by a bull of Pope Nicholas the third. From that time, the friars did not use manual labour as a means of subsistence, but resorted, in the first instance, to mendicity. In this sense, it was an article of the rule of St. Francis.

It made no part of the original rule of St. Dominic, or of the original rules of the Carmelites, or the Hermits of St. Augustin. Insensibly, however, all of them engrafted it, by particular constitutions, on their respective rules; and thus, the four orders,

which we have mentioned, became the four mendicant orders; but St. Francis was the only founder of a religious order, of whose original rule, mendicity was an article.

Experience soon discovered, that many spiritual and many temporal evils attended mendicity. In consequence of them, some of the Franciscan establishments, and almost all the establishments of the three other orders, began to acquire permanent property. This the church first permitted, and afterwards countenanced; and the Council of Trent, confined mendicity to the Observantines and Capucins.

VI.

In 1534, St. Ignatius of Loyola, laid the foundation of the Society of Jesus, by the vow, which, with his ten companions, he took in the chapel of Montmartre near Paris. In 1540, and 1543, his Institute was approved by Pope Paul the third. In the history of the life of St. Ignatius, written by Father Bouhours, one of the most elegant works in the French language, the reader will find a succinct account of the constitutions of this celebrated society.

The following character is given of the Society of Jesus, by "*M. Bausset, Ancien Evêque d'Alèth, du Chapitre imperial de Saint Denis, et Conseiller titulaire, de l'Université imperiale,*" in his very interesting life of Fenelon.

"The Institute of the Jesuits," (says M. de Bausset) "to which no other institute ever has been, or ever could be compared, for the energy, the foresight or the depth of conception, which traced its plan and combined its springs of action, was designed in its creation, to embrace within the vast employment of its attributes and functions, all classes, all conditions, all elements, which enter into the harmony or verge of political or religious power.

"Ascending to the epocha of its establishment, it is easily perceived, that the public and avowed object of the institute in religion, was to defend the Catholic Church against the Luthe-

rans and Calvinists; and that its object in politics, was to protect social order, and the established government of every country, against the torrent of anarchical opinions, which always advance on a line with religious innovations. Wherever the Jesuits made themselves heard, they preserved all classes of society in a spirit of order, wisdom and consistence. Called, in their first origination, to the education of the principal families of the state, they extended their cares to the inferior classes: they kept them in the happy habits of religious and moral virtue. Such, particularly, was the useful object of the numerous congregations which they erected, in almost every town, and which they had the talent of connecting with every profession, with every social institution. Simple and easy exercises of piety, familiar instructions, proportioned to every condition, and no wise interfering with the labours or duties of society, served to uphold, in every state of life, that regularity of manners, that spirit of order and subordination, and that wise economy, which preserve peace and harmony in families, and assure the prosperity of empires.—The principal towns of France still remember, that there never was more order and tranquillity, more probity in dealings, fewer failures, or less depravation, than while these congregations lasted.

"Profoundly versed in every branch of knowledge, the Jesuits availed themselves, with great ability, of this circumstance, to acquire the consideration always attached to superior lights and talents. The confidence of all Catholic governments, the success of their method of instruction, caused the deposit of public education to pass, almost entirely, into their hands.

"They had the merit of attracting honour to their religious and moral character, by a severity of manners, a temperance, a nobility, and an individual disinterestedness, which even their enemies could not deny. This is the fairest answer they can make to the satires, which accused them of relaxed morality.

"This body was so perfectly constituted, that it never had either infancy or old age. We see it, in the first days of its birth, forming establishments in every Catholic state; intrepidly combating all the sects, which spring from Lutheranism; founding

missions in the East, and the deserts of America, and traversing the Chinese, Japanese and Indian seas.—The order existed during two centuries, and it still had the full vigour of its maturity. To its latest breath, it was animated by the spirit which gave it birth. It had no original imperfections, which called for a supply of new laws.

"The emulation, which it occasioned, was one of its necessary effects; and was useful even to its rivals. All of it expired together, and it dragged in its fall, the madmen, who imprudently triumphed in its catastrophe!

"It will never be explained, by what spirit of giddiness, the governments, of which the Jesuits had best deserved, were so unwisely led to deprive themselves of their most useful defenders. The puerile causes, the laughable accusations, which served as a pretence for their proscription, are now scarcely remembered; —but it *is* remembered, that the judges, who declared the whole body convicted of the greatest crimes, could not point out, among all the members, which composed the order, a single guilty individual. The destruction of the Jesuits was a deadly wound to the education of youth, in all Catholic Europe,—a remarkable confession, equally in the mouths of their friends and enemies.

"The society knew how to make its misfortunes redound to their honour, by supporting them with a noble and tranquil courage. The religious and unconquered resignation of the members of the order, attested the purity of its principles and feelings. These men, who were described so dangerous, so powerful, so vindictive, bowed without a murmur, under the terrible hand that crushed them; they had the generosity to respect and mourn over the weakness of the pontiff destined to sacrifice them. The proscription of them was the essay, and served for the model, of those cruel sports of fury and folly, which destroyed in a moment the wisdom of ages, and devoured in one day the riches of past and future generations." A complete series of the historians of the Society of Jesus, is given by *De Bure*, in his *Bibliographie Instructive, Histoire Ecclésiastique, section IV.* 4. 55. Those who read the Provincial Letters, should also

read Father Daniel's *Reponse aux Lettres Provinciales,* and his *Lettres au Père Alexandre.* "No author," says Doctor Maclaine, in a note *(u)* to his *Translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History,* Cent. XVI. Part I. C. 35., "has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life; and none, at the same time, has defended their cause with more art and dexterity, than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel, (a famous member of their order), in a piece entitled, *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe.*" His *Lettres au Père Alexandre,* are written with still greater point and elegance. Those who read more recent publications against them, should also read *L'Apologie de l'Institut des Jesuites* and Mr. Dallas's *New Conspiracy against the Jesuits detected, and briefly exposed,* an elegant and able work.

In 1776, the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement the Fourteenth. "In general," says the author of the *Vie privée de Louis XV. Vol.* IV. *p.* 61., and he cannot be accused of partiality to the Society, "the more numerous and respectable portion of the community regretted the Jesuits. If the great cause had been heard, with the solemnity and gravity due to its importance, the Jesuits might thus have addressed the magistrates:—'You, yes, all you, whose hearts and understandings we have formed, answer, before you condemn us, these Questions! We appeal to the judgment, which you formed of us, in that age, when candour and innocence reigned in our hearts. Now, therefore, come forward and declare, whether in our schools, in our discourses, or in the tribunal of penance, we ever inculcated to you any of those abominable maxims, with which we are now reproached? Did you ever hear them fall from our lips? Did you ever read them in the books which we put into your hands?'—Alas! "continues the same writer," the magistrates said all this to one another. In private, they held no other language, but they were no sooner seated on the bench of justice, than they were overpowered by their fanatical and louder brethren."

By a Bull, dated the 15th of August, 1814, the Society of Jesus, *faventibus bonis omnibus*, was restored. A fuller account of this interesting society has been prepared by the writer of these pages, and inserted in a work, which, in the course of the next year will be submitted to the public, under the title of *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, during the reigns of Lewis the Fourteenth, Lewis the Fifteenth, Lewis the Sixteenth, the Revolution, and the Restoration of the Monarchy.*

VII.

The reign of Lewis the Fourteenth was illustrated by several Religious Communities, which, during that period, were either founded or first established in France. Without being bound by religious vows, the members lived in community, in the observance of certain settled rules, and, thus far, had a resemblance to religious orders. Such were *the Oratorians, the Lazarists, and the Sulpiciens.*

The Oratorians were particularly given to the study of Theology and Sacred Literature, and, possessing Mallebranche, Lami, Simon, Le Brun, and other able writers, attracted, in a high degree, the notice of the public. The Lazarists and Sulpiciens courted obscurity. The character given by M. de Bausset, of the Sulpiciens, in his life of Fenelon, may be applied equally to them and the Lazarists. In perusing it, the reader will probably be put in mind of the beautiful lines, in which the Poet, in his Temple of Fame, (verse 356—366.), describes the smallest tribe he yet had seen. "Avoiding public notice," says M. de Bausset, "engaging in no contest, resigning to others those good works, which confer celebrity, it was *their* object to be actively employed in the service of the church, in the most obscure and most humble functions: and, within that modest but useful line of duty, their exertions were uniformly confined. They had numerous establishments in France, and existed 150 years, without the slightest abatement of their first fervor, when at the beginning of the French Revolution, they perished in the general wreck of what was most respectable and holy in France."

VIII.

VIII. 1. It remains to give some account of the MILITARY ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME. Some time before the first crusade, an hospital was established at Jerusalem, for the relief of the poor pilgrims who resorted there. In 1100, Gerard, the director of it, and his companions, professed themselves members of the order of St. Benedict, and formed a congregation, under the name of St. John the Baptist. It was approved by Pope Pascal II. In 1113, Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, divided the order into three classes; to the nobles he assigned the profession of arms, for the defence of the faith, and the protection of pilgrims; the ecclesiastics were to exercise the religious functions, for the benefit of the order; the lay-brothers were to take care of the pilgrims and the sick. These regulations were approved by pope Calixtus II.; and the order then took the name of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. After the loss of the Holy Land they retired to Cyprus: thence to Rhodes: in 1522, that island was taken from them by Solyman the Great: Malta was then given them by the Emperor Charles V.; from that time, they have generally been known by the appellation of *Knights of Malta.*

VIII. 2. The order of the *Knights Templars* was established nearly about the same time, and for the same purposes as that of the Knights of Malta. They took their name from a monastery given them by Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, which immediately adjoined the temple in his palace. They were suppressed by the Council of Vienne, in 1312.

VIII. 3. The *Teutonic Order* was founded on the model of that of the Knights Templars. It was confirmed by Pope Celestine, in 1191. The knights conquered Prussia in 1230, and fixed the head seat of their order at Marienburgh. In 1525, the grand master embraced the protestant religion: since which time, the head seat of the order has been at Margentheim, in Franconia.

VIII. 4. The original object of the *Order of St. Lazarus,* was to take care of persons infected with leprosy; in the course of time, it became a military order. The whole body returned with St. Lewis into Europe, in 1254. Afterwards, it was united in France, with the order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and in Savoy, with the order of St. Maurice. —All these orders displayed heroic acts of valour, in the enterprises of the Crusaders, to recover the Holy Land.

For the history of the military orders of the church of Rome, the reader may consult, *Histoire des Ordres Militaires seculiers et reguliers de l'un et de l'autre sexe, tirées des differens auteurs, et principalement de l'Abbé Giustiniani, avec des figures gravées en taille douce, qui representent leurs habillemens. Ams.* 1721, 4 *vol. in* 8*vo.*

ESSAY II.

On the Discipline of the Church of Rome, respecting the general Perusal of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, by the Laity.

This Essay comprises, with some additions, the whole of a first, and extracts from a second and third letter, addressed to Thomas Stonor, Esq., and published in the Gentleman's Magazine, for the month of December, 1813, and the months of February and September in the following year. Several replies to them appeared in different numbers of the same valuable repository. To those, the writer, being perfectly satisfied with the ground, on which they left the question, made no replication.

As they are now offered to the reader, the substance of these letters may be found to contain some account :

I. Of the ancient discipline of the Church of Rome, respecting the general perusal of the scriptures by the Laity. II. Some account of the change made in the ancient discipline, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by the Waldenses and Albigenses. III. Some account of the actual state of the discipline of the Church of Rome in this respect. IV. A short statement of the sentiments of some respectable protestant writers on the unrestricted perusal of the scriptures. V. Some observations on the notion, entertained by several protestants, of its being considered by the Roman-catholics to be unlawful to print a

Translation of the scriptures, in a vulgar tongue without notes. VI. Some facts, which show the earnest wish of the Church of Rome to promote the circulation of the scriptures, both in the original languages and in translations. VII. Some facts which show the groundlessness of the charge brought against the Church of Rome, that she did not allow translations of the Bible, into vulgar tongues, to be printed, till she was forced to it against her will, by the protestant translations. VIII. Some account of the English Roman-catholic versions of the Bible. IX. Some observations on the harsh expressions, charged on the notes to the Rheimish version of the Bible, and the edition of it by Doctor Challoner. X. A suggestion of the rules which should be constantly observed in polemic controversy. XI. And of a rule, particularly to be observed in controversies with Roman-catholics. These observations having been drawn up originally in the nature of a letter, it is hoped that the frequent introduction in them of the pronoun of the first person will be excused.

I.

The early discipline of the Church of Rome in respect to the perusal of the scripture, by the general body of the Laity, has varied. On this head, I cannot do better than extract the following passages from a letter of Fenelon to the Bishop of Arras, (Oeuvres Spirituels de Fenelon, 8vo. Tom. 4. p. 241.) "I think," says the illustrious prelate, "that much trouble has been taken in our times very unnecessarily, to prove what is incontestible, that, in the first ages of the church, the laity read the holy scriptures. It is clear as daylight, that all people read the Bible and Liturgy in their native languages: that, as a part of good education, children were made to read them; that, in their sermons, the ministers of the church regularly explained to their flocks whole books of the sacred volumes; that the sacred text of the scriptures was very familiar to the people; that the clergy exhorted the people to read them; that the clergy

blamed the people for not reading them; and considered the neglect of the perusal of them, as a source of heresy and immorality. But, in all this," continues the illustrious prelate, "the church used a wise œconomy; adapting the general practice to the circumstances and wants of individuals. It did not, however, think that a person could not be a Christian, or not be well instructed in his religion, without perusing the sacred writings. Whole countries of barbarians, innumerable multitudes of the faithful were rich (to use the words of St. Paul) in words and science, though they had not read the sacred writings. To listen to the pastors of the church, who explain the scriptures to the faithful, and distribute among them such parts as are suited to their wants, is to read the scriptures."

Thus far I have translated literally the words of Fenelon. In confirmation of what is said by him, that a considerable proportion of the faithful derived their knowledge of the gospel, not from a perusal of the scriptures themselves, but from the explanation of them by their pastors, I beg leave to refer you to what my most learned friend, Dr. Herbert Marsh, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, in his "Illustrations of his Hypothesis on the Origin and Composition of the three first Canonical Gospels," has observed on the very small number of manuscript copies of the gospels, which were possessed by the early Christians.

II.

Fenelon then proceeds to notice *the change of the discipline of the church, in the point I have mentioned, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by the Waldenses and Albigenses.*—"It should seem," he says, "that the Waldenses and Albigenses obliged the church to have recourse to her strict authority, in refusing the perusal of the sacred scripture to all persons, who were not disposed to read it to their advantage. I do not, however, undertake to assert that this prohibition was then issued by the church for the first time. But, certainly, the indocility and

spirit of revolt, which then appeared among the laity, the neglect of the pastors to explain the scriptures, and the contempt which the people began then to shew for their instructions, made it manifest, that it had become unsafe to permit the people at large to read the sacred text: and consequently made it necessary for the church to withhold from the laity the perusal of it without the permission of their pastors."

The venerable Prelate next proceeds to state the principal councils, synods and episcopal ordinances, by which the general perusal of the scriptures by the laity was restricted. In a further part of his letter, he enumerates several passages, both of the Old and New Testament, which are likely to be understood in a wrong sense by the ignorant or ill-disposed, and to be wrested by them, as he terms it after St. Paul, to their own perdition. "Hence," Fenelon concludes, that "the church acted wisely in withholding the sacred text from the rash criticisms of the vulgar." He says, that, "before the people read the gospel, they should be instructed respecting it; that they should be prepared for it by degrees, so that, when they come to read it, they should be qualified to understand it; and thus be full of its spirit, before they are entrusted with its letter. The perusal of it should only be permitted to the simple, the docile, and the humble; to those who wish to nourish themselves with its divine truths in silence. It should never be committed to those, who merely seek to satisfy their curiosity, to dispute, to dogmatize, or to criticise. In a word, it should be given to those only, who, receiving it from the hands of the church, seek for nothing in it, but the sense of the church." This is, and ever has been the doctrine of the church. "Her discipline in this article," says Fenelon in another part of his letter, "has sometimes varied, her doctrine has ever been the same."

III.

I shall proceed to state *the actual dispositions of the Church of Rome on this important point of her discipline.*

For this purpose, I beg leave to copy what Mr. Alban Butler says, in his Sixth Letter on Mr. Archibald Bower's History of the Popes: "The people," (these are his words) "daily hear the scriptures read and expounded to them, by their pastors, and in good books. Even children have excellent abridgements of the sacred history, adapted, in the most easy and familiar manner, to their capacity, put into their hands. The divine books themselves are open to all, who understand Latin, or any other of the learned languages, in every Catholic country; and every one may read them, in the vulgar languages, if he first ask the advice of his Confessor, who will only instruct him in what spirit he is to read them."

IV.

From what I have said, it seems evident, that the limitation, with which the Roman-catholic church allows the general body of the laity to peruse the scriptures in a vulgar tongue, has not a very extensive operation; and I must observe, that *some eminent Protestants so far agree with the Roman-catholic church, on this head, as to think that the indiscriminate perusal of the scripture by the laity is attended with bad consequences, and should therefore have some limitation.*

1. For proof of this, I particularly refer you to the treatise of Dr. Hare, a late bishop of Chichester, "On the Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the study of the Scriptures in the way of private judgment, in order to show, that since such a study of the scriptures is men's indispensable duty, it concerns all Christian societies to remove (as much as possible) those Discouragements."

2. In respect to the Protestant practice of putting the scriptures into the hands of children, in their tender years, Mr. Benjamin Martin, in his preface to his "Introduction to the English Tongue," laments and censures the "putting of the sacred book into the hands of every bawling schoolmistress, and of thoughtless children, to be torn, trampled upon, and

made the early object of their aversion, by being their most tedious task and their punishment." He seems inclined to ascribe the growth of irreligion and the contempt of holy things to this source.

3. Mr. Edmund Burke thus expresses himself, in his "Speech on the Act of Uniformity:"—"The scripture," he says, "is no one summary of Christian doctrine regularly digested, in which a man could not mistake his way; it is a most venerable, but most multifarious, collection of the records of the divine œconomy; a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books, by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes.

"It is necessary to sort out, what is intended for example; what only as a narrative; what to be understood literally; what figuratively; where one precept is to be controlled or modified by another; what is used directly, and what only as an argument ad hominem; what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation; what appropriated to one state, and to one set of men, and what the general duty of all Christians. If we do not get some security for this, we not only permit, but we actually pay for, all the dangerous fanaticism, which can be produced to corrupt our people, and to derange the public worship of the country. We owe the best we can (not infallibility, but prudence) to the subjects; first sound doctrine, then ability to use it." Speech on the Act of Uniformity: Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, Vol. V. Page 335.

4. I request the reader's attention, in the last place, to that numerous portion of the Protestant subscribers to the Bible Societies, which contends, that the Bibles distributed should be accompanied with the Common Prayer Book, "as a safeguard," to use the expression of Dr. Herbert Marsh, (whose learning justly places him at the head of these gentlemen,) "against the misinterpretation of the Bible." Surely the Protestant, who, by a general adoption of safeguards against the misinterpretation of the scriptures, must admit such misinterpretation to be pro-

bable, cannot quarrel with the Roman-catholic for his cautionary preventives of it.

V.

This leads me to mention a strange opinion, which prevails much among Protestants—*that it is contrary to the General Principles of the Catholic religion, to publish the Bible, in a vulgar tongue, without notes.*

To be convinced of the erroneousness of this opinion, it is only necessary to walk into the shops of the French booksellers in London, where several French Roman-catholic versions of the New Testament, without any notes, are constantly on sale. I beg leave, however, to refer the reader to the edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra,* published by Boehmer at Leipsic, in two volumes octavo, 1709. In the second volume of the work, C. v. Sect. 2. p. 36, he will find an article, with the title, "*Biblia Gallica a Catholicis edita,*" and will see by it, that, before that work was printed, there had been, in the French language, nine original versions of the whole Bible; that many editions of these versions are in octavo, or the lesser sizes; that there had been twelve original versions of the New Testament; that there had been several editions of most of these versions; that almost all these editions are in octavo or a smaller size; and that there had not been fewer than two hundred editions of different parts of the Old and New Testament, particularly the four Gospels and the Psalms, from one or other of these versions. Which of these editions are or are not accompanied by notes, I cannot say; but, from their size, it is most evident, that by far the greater part of them have none. I must add, that all these editions were anterior to the year 1709. Now, reading of no kind was, before that year, so common as it has since been. There is consequently no reason to suppose, that the versions subsequent to that period have been proportionally fewer than those which preceded it. An equal number of versions and editions had not before that time been printed in England.

I must add, that *no Syriac, no Armenian, no Æthiopic, no Arabic version of the Bible, has any notes;* yet those are the vulgar tongues of large portions of the world.

I beg, however, not to be misunderstood:—while I mention the multitude of Roman-catholic Bibles, and versions of Bibles, without notes, I admit, most unequivocally, that it is the acknowledged right of our church and her pastors, to direct, when, where, and what notes should accompany them. But I must think, that the various instances, in which I show, that they have been published without notes, prove incontrovertibly, how unjustly we are charged with admitting it, as a principle of our religion, that the versions of the Bible into a vulgar tongue should not be published without them.

VI.

I shall now cite *a few miscellaneous facts, to show how much the Church of Rome has, at all times, desired to promote the general circulation and perusal of the sacred writings, both in the original language, and in translations from it.*

1. To begin with *the Practice of the Church in the middle ages*—I refer you to the second part of Dr. Hody's "Historia Scholastica Textus Versionumque Græcæ et Vulgatæ." It is impossible to peruse it, without acknowledging it to prove, beyond controversy, that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the scriptures, and that too in their original languages, was not cultivated and encouraged by the Roman-catholic clergy. In our own country, the works of the Venerable Bede, of Holy Robert of Lincoln, and of Roger Bacon, show how much biblical learning was cultivated and encouraged in those days.

2. Every candid scholar must surely own it to be principally owing to *the labors of the Monks of the middle ages,* that we are now in possession of the sacred writings. This will appear clear to every one, who peruses the 10th chapter of *Mr. Lingard's invaluable Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church,* and

the 4th chapter of the 3d book of *Dr. Henry's History of Britain. Gerhardus Tyschen*, Professor of Philosophy and Oriental Literature, in the united Universities of Butzow and Rostock, in his "*Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostochii* 1772," expresses himself in terms of astonishment at the labors of the Monks in the transcription of the sacred writings, and the singular felicity of their execution. "I am sensible," he says, "that it is the general opinion, that the study of the fine arts was buried during the middle ages. It is however certain, that, while literature was crushed every where else, she found a refuge in Monasteries." He particularly mentions, how much the inhabitants of those pious abodes studied the Hebrew language: and how many of them were employed in transcribing Hebrew manuscripts. He says, that calligraphy arrived, in them, at its summit of excellence: the beauty of their transcriptions, he remarks, is such as could not have been attained, unless they possessed some art of fixing the forms of written letters, to which we are strangers.

3. The typographic art was no sooner discovered than the *Catholic presses* were employed in printing in every size, from the folio to the twenty-fourth, the Old and New Testament, or particular parts of them, in the Hebrew and Greek originals, and the Latin translations.

4. Every Roman-catholic acknowledges, with readiness, the transcendent merit of the London *Polyglott;* and every candid Protestant should admit, with equal readiness, that the London Polyglott was preceded by the Catholic Polyglotts of Complutum, Antwerp, and Paris; and that, without them, the London Polyglott would not have existed. The Roman-catholics justly applaud the invaluable labors of Dr. Kennicott. The Protestants should equally applaud what Doctor Kennicot always took a pleasure in mentioning, that the Catholics employed themselves as actively and as disinterestedly, in his service, as his Protestant auxiliaries. And I think you will permit my mentioning, in this place, that the Doctor always spoke, in particular terms of respect and gratitude, of the exertions of Mr. Alban Butler, the author of the Lives of the Saints—a

new and elegant edition of which work, with beautiful engravings, has lately, by the exertions of Mr. Murphy, of Howland Street, made its appearance.

5. Many examples show, that, when any nation has been converted or recalled to the Catholic religion, the Church of Rome has been careful to supply it with a translation of the scriptures, in its vernacular language. The numberless translations of the whole scriptures, or of different parts of them, into *the Latin*, which was once the language of the whole Western Empire, are well known. So early as the fourth century, St. Augustin observed, that "the number of those, who had translated the scriptures from the Hebrew, into the Greek, might be computed; but that the number of those, who had translated the Greek into the Latin, could not: for that, immediately on the introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the scriptures."

6. The Peshito, or Sincere Version of the Four Gospels into *Syriac*, was certainly made before the fourth, and there are circumstances which render it probable, that it was made at the end of the 1st, or the beginning of the 2nd, century. In 1552, the Maronite Christians having, under the direction of Ignatius their patriarch, sent Moses of Marden to Pope Julius the Third, to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome, and to be received into his communion, the Emperor Ferdinand caused a new edition of this version to be printed at his own expense, at Vienna, and transmitted to Syria.

7. In 1548, there appearing to be an opening for the introduction of Christianity into Æthiopia, Pope Paul the Third caused an *Æthiopic* version of the New Testament to be published at Rome for the use of the new Æthiopic Christians.

8. An *Arabic* version of the whole Bible was published at Rome in 1591; and, in 1671, the congregation at Rome de Propagandâ fide, published, for the use of the Arabic Christians in communion with her, an Arabic version of the whole Bible, in 3 volumes folio, under the direction of Sergius Risius, bishop of Damascus. We are informed by *Abbas Nazarias, in his*

Diarium Eruditum, that it was the labor of 46 years. With the same beneficent view, an Arabic version of the Four Gospels was printed in 1591, at the Medicæan press, in Rome.

9. The extreme difficulty of acquiring even a slight knowledge of the *Chinese* language, the small number of those who can but imperfectly read it, and the immense expense attending the printing of the smallest work in it, prevented the Catholic missionaries from publishing any version of the scriptures in that language. It was, however, their wish to do it, when such a version should be generally useful, and when the means of printing and publishing it should be in their power. With this view, the Jesuits prepared a Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Chinese language. It is preserved in the British Musæum. The British and Foreign Bible Society mentions this circumstance in the First Report of their proceedings, and commends the elegance of the version.

It is observable, that at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, sixty thousand copies of a French translation of the New Testament were distributed among the converted Protestants, by the order of Lewis the Fourteenth.—I beg leave to add, that having lived long in France, and been intimately acquainted with the literary and devotional habits of that people, I am perfectly satisfied, that the Bible was as much read, as much explained, and as well understood by the people at large, in France, as it is in England. I will, however, admit, that it was not read at so early an age in France, as it is by English Protestants. But, (*absit invidia verbo*), I will presume to say, that taking a protestant boy of the age of ten years, who has read the Bible, in the manner in which it is usually read before that age in England, and a Catholic boy of the same age, who has been taught the French catechism, and particularly Fleury's Historical Catechism, in the manner in which they are usually taught in France, I am quite confident that the latter will be found to have quite as full and as clear a knowledge of the history, the morality, and the religion of the Old and New Testament, as the former.

VII.

I shall now notice *a charge, often brought against the Catholics,—that they were forced, against their will, to print versions, in vernacular languages, of the sacred Text, in consequence of the effects produced by the versions, made in those languages, by the Protestants.*

For this charge there is no foundation.

1. The earliest printed Protestant version is that in the *German* language, by Martin Luther. The New Testament of that version was printed in 1522; the Old, in 1530.

It had been preceded, 1st. by Fust's celebrated Bible, printed at Mentz, in 1462; 2ndly. by Bemler's, printed at Augsburgh, in 1467; and 3rdly. by the four versions mentioned by Beausobre, (*Hist de la Reformation, Liv.* 4.)

2. The earliest printed *French* Protestant version, is that of Olivetan, assisted by Calvin.

It contains the whole Bible, and was finished in 1537,—the year 1535, (which is the date mentioned in the title page) being the year in which it was first committed to the press.

This version had been preceded, 1st. by the French version of the New Testament, by Julian, an Augustinian Monk, printed in 1477; 2ndly. by the French version of the whole Bible, by Guyards des Moulins, printed in 1490; and 3rdly. by that of Estaples, the New Testament of whose version was printed in 1523, and the Old in 1528. The last of these editions was particularly used by Olivetan.

3. The earliest printed *Italian* Protestant version appeared in 1562.

It had been preceded, 1st. by Malermis, printed in 1471; and 2ndly. by Brucciolis, in 1532, which last version the Protestant translator generally followed.

4. The first printed Protestant *Belgic* version was made from Luther's, and appeared in 1527.

It had been preceded by a version of the Four Gospels,

printed in 1472; and by one of the whole Bible, printed at Cologne, in 1475; at Delft, in 1477; at Gouda, in 1479; and both at Antwerp and Louvain, in 1518.

It is needless to extend these enquiries.

VIII.

I proceed to give *some account of the English Catholic versions of the Bible.*

1. An English version of the New Testament was printed in 1582, in one volume quarto, by the clergy of the English college, first established at Doway, but then removed to Rheims. Their translation of the Old Testament was published at Doway, (to which town the college had then returned), in two volumes quarto, in the years 1609 and 1610.

2. The *Rheimish* version of the New Testament, but with some variation, both in the text and notes, was reprinted at Doway in 1600. The version of the New Testament was often reprinted. In 1738, it was beautifully printed in London, in one volume folio, and, in the title page, is called the Fifth Edition.

3. An English Roman-catholic translation of the New Testament, with a few (but very few,) notes, was published at Paris in 1719, in one volume octavo. The translator was Doctor Cornelius Nary; the approbation of Doctor John Farely, president of the Irish College at Paris, of Mr. Fogarty, Doctor of Sorbonne, of Mr. Moore, Vicar-General of the titular Roman-catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and of Francis Walsh, a Roman-catholic Priest at Dublin, are prefixed to it. The translation is said to be respectably executed.

4. In 1730, an English translation of the New Testament, but on the ground-work of the Rheimish and Doway version, was published at Doway, by *Dr. Witham*, the President of the English College in that town, with many concise and useful notes.

5. In 1749, 1750, a new edition, both of the Old and New

Testament, with some alteration in the text, and much in the notes, was published from this version, by *Dr. Challoner*, in 5 volumes, 8vo. The New Testament of that edition has been often reprinted; but it is asserted, that the editions subsequent to that of 1749, are incorrect, and that the edition of 1749 is to be preferred to any of them.

It is much to be desired, that we had a good literary history of the English versions of the Bible by the Roman-catholics, and of the controversies to which they have given rise. The account given of them by Mr. Lewis, in his "History of the Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English," is very imperfect, and written with an evident prejudice against the Catholic religion.

6. Two editions of the Catholic version of the whole Bible in folio, and one of Dr. Challoner's version of the New Testament in octavo, are *now in the press.* A stereotype edition also of the latter, in octavo, has lately been published, by the direction of the Roman-catholic Bible Society, under the care of the late Doctor Rigby, a learned and pious Roman-catholic priest.

It is highly probable, that, with more time for the enquiry, and, (I should certainly add,) with more knowledge of the subject, many other instances of the zeal of the Catholic church, to spread the sacred writings, might be collected. But surely those, which I have mentioned, abundantly shew, that in every age it has always been her wish, that the sacred volumes should be circulated, in every country, into which the christian religion has penetrated; and that the charge made against her of withholding the Bible from her flock, has, to say no more, been unmercifully exaggerated. The exaggeration has been carried so far, as to have made it nearly the universal belief of Protestants, that withholding the Bible from the general body is *The Rule,* and the liberty to read it, *The Exception;* whereas it is much nearer the truth to say, that the *withholding of it is The Exception,* and the liberty, *The Rule.*

IX.

An objection is made to some *Harsh Expressions, which occur in the Notes to the Rheimish Version, and in the Notes to Doctor Challoner's edition of that version.*

1. With respect to the former, I am far from approving any expression of this nature, which is justly censurable; but when the harsh expressions of the Rheimish annotators are brought forward,—the dungeons too,—the racks, the gibbets, the fires, the confiscations, and the various other modes of persecution, in every hideous form, which the Catholics of those days endured, should not be forgotten. That these should have produced some expressions of bitterness from the writers in question, cannot be a matter of surprise; if something of the kind had not fallen from them, they would have been more than men. But, permit me to ask, whether the language of their Protestant adversaries were more courteous? To ascertain this, I wish my readers to turn to the first and last pages of Doctor Fulke's "Texts of the New Testament." In the first page of it, he tells the Rheimish translators, that, "they had perverted the Bible, by their partial translation, and poisoned it with their heretical and blasphemous annotations;—that they craftily begged of their favourers in England larger exhibition, upon colour of printing their translation of the Bible." In the last page he tells them, that "the words of their prayer were good and godly; but that they proceeded not from a faithful heart, not only their wilful and obstinate maintaining of errors, against the most clear light of truth, with their intolerable licentiousness of lying and slandering the saints of God, did sufficiently declare."—— That, "though they could speak good words on hypocrisy, yet their heart knew, and their cauterized conscience could not but

bear witness, that they dared not abide the tryal of God's judgment, howsoever, (as all wicked offenders did commonly) they appealed to it."—Are these passages exceeded by any contained in the Rheimish Annotations? If they are not, permit me to ask, why the Roman-catholics of the present day should be criminated for an alleged intemperance of some of the Rheimish Notes, and the Protestants of the present day not alike liable to crimination for the equal intemperance of the antagonists of the Rheimish Annotators?"

2. With respect to *Dr. Challoner's Notes*, some of them have been pronounced illiberal or uncharitable. I doubt whether any of them, if they were construed in the sense in which the venerable prelate himself understood them, would be found to merit either of these epithets. This, however, cannot be settled, without a minute discussion of each note; but if any passages, really exceptionable on either of these grounds, can be found in them, it must be allowed that these passages are not numerous. And it must also be allowed, that, *even now*, Roman-catholics are occasionally treated by their Protestant opponents, with expressions of, at least equal asperity. The first sentence of the preface to the work entitled, "Roman-catholic Claims," (a very recent publication) politely informs us, that "Misrepresentation, Evasion, and Untruth, are the usual weapons of controversial Popery."

It is full time that this polemic rudeness should cease. The Roman-catholic Board, by their resolution of the 9th of February, 1813, declared, "That they decidedly disapproved of every publication, either illiberal in language, or uncharitable in substance; injurious to the character, or offensive to the just feelings of any of their Christian brethren." That every denomination of Christians should adopt and act up to this resolution, must be the wish of all who possess real charity, or a real love of truth.—It was a golden observation of St. Francis of Sales, that "a good Christian is never outdone in good manners."

Better rules cannot be laid down for conducting controversy,

than those suggested by Doctor Hey, the late Norisian Professor at Cambridge. From the first volume of his Lectures, they are thus extracted, but with some additional observations, by the late Mr. Richard Kirwan, in his "*Logick, or an Essay on the Elements, Principles, and different Modes of Reasoning, Part IV. Ch. I. Section* 3.: an original and very instructive work.

"First," says Doctor Hey, "the terms in which the subject in debate is conceived, should be so clearly explained, as that their precise signification, should be expressly agreed on by both parties.

"Secondly, all expressions of self-sufficiency should be carefully avoided; he uses such expressions, who calls his own cause, the cause of God, and his own interpretation, the word of God.

"Thirdly, whoever uses personal reflections should be deemed an enemy to truth: they prevent even just reason from being attended to by common men.

"Fourthly, no one should accuse his adversary of indirect motives.

"Fifthly, the consequences of any doctrine are not to be charged on those, who hold those doctrines, unless they expressly avow them. If, from any proposition, absurd propositions follow, it is rightly concluded, that the original proposition is false; but it cannot be rightly concluded, that the adversaries maintain those absurd propositions;—that is, barely a matter of fact.

"Sixthly, it is improper to refer any saying of an adversary to a party; this is done, when it is said, this is downright Popish superstition, Scottish philosophy, Irish blundering, rash Tory principle."

"These rules," says Mr. Kirwan, "have been very seldom observed in any controversy; the nearest approach to a perfect conformity to them, may be seen in the controversial corre-

"spondence of the late excellent Dr. Priestley and Dr. Price, and "also in the amicable conference of the learned Beza and Pro-"fessor Jacobi, at Montbeliard."——Mr. Kirwan might have added, the *Amica Collatio* of Limbore and the Jew Orobia. They were not observed in the controversy between Bossuet and Fenelon; but, in the controversy between Bossuet and Claude, to the perusal of which I invite every reader, there was no departure from any one of them.—"In my heart," says *Dr. Milner, in his Strictures on some of the publications of the learned Lady Margaret Professor*—"I love a good argument."—Readers of this taste will be abundantly gratified by Bossuet's account of this celebrated conference.

X.

In addition to the excellent rules for controversy, laid down by Doctor Hey, I beg leave to suggest the particular observance of the following rule in all religious controversies with Roman-catholics :—"*That no doctrines should be ascribed to them, as a body, except such as are Articles of their Faith.*"—Of the many misconceptions of their tenets, of which the Roman-catholics complain, they feel none more than those, which proceed from the want of observance of this rule. It is most true, that the Roman-catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be unchangeable: and that it is a Tenet of their Creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be. But this they confine to the Articles of their Faith; and they consider no doctrine to be of faith, unless it have been delivered by divine revelation, and been propounded, as such, by the church. This the Roman-catholics wish their adversaries never to forget.

When any of their adversaries find, in any Catholic writer a position which he thinks reprehensible, he should enquire whether it be an article of Catholic Faith, or an opinion of the writer. In the latter case, he should reflect, that the general body of the Catholics is not responsible for it, and should therefore abstain from charging it upon the body.

If he take the higher ground, he should first endeavour to ascertain, that it is an article of the Roman-catholic Faith: but here, again, he should carefully examine, whether it be the Principle itself, which he means to impute to the Catholics, or a Consequence which he deduces from it. These are widely different, and should never be confounded. If it be the Principle, he should then enquire, whether it have ever been propounded to them, as an Article of Faith, by the church. A wise method of ascertaining this, would be, to read the "*Catechism of the Council of Trent.*" A proper perusal, however, of that work, requires attentive study: if he be unable to give it such a perusal, let him read Bossuet's "*Exposition of Faith:*" and consult, (if not the work itself,) at least the Abridgement of Mr. Gother's "*Papist Misrepresented and Represented:*" let him also read Doctor Challoner's "*Three Short Summaries of Catholic Faith and Doctrine,*" prefixed to his "*Garden of the soul,*" the most popular Prayer-Book of the English Catholics. Having read these, let him ascertain, whether the doctrine, with which he charges the Catholics, be, in terms or substance, stated in any of them, to be an article of their Faith. If he conceive that it is stated, in any of them, to be such, let him insert, in his publication, the passage in which he professes to discover it, mentioning explicitly the work, the edition of it, and the page in which it is to be found. Should the passage be found, in terms, or substance, in any of the works I have mentioned, then it will be incumbent on the Catholics, either to shew that the writer, in whose work the passage is found, was mistaken, (which from the acknowledged character of all the works I have mentioned, will not, I think, ever happen) or to admit that it is an Article

of their Faith; and then the Roman-catholics will be justly chargeable with it. Whatever other opinions can be adduced, though they be the opinions of their most respectable writers, though they be the opinions of the Fathers of their church, still they are but matters of opinion, and a Catholic may disbelieve them, without ceasing to be a Catholic. Would it not be both a fair and a short way of ending the controversy between the Protestants and Catholics, that every person, who charges the general body of Catholics with any religious tenet, should be obliged to cite from the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or from one or other of the works I have mentioned, of Bossuet, Mr. Gother, or Dr. Challoner, the passage in which such tenet is contained and propounded as an Article of Faith?

ESSAY III.

On the Work entitled "Roman-Catholic Princi-"ples in reference to God and the King:" first published in 1680:—*to which a correct edition of The Principles is added.*

After the greater part of the preceding pages had been printed, it occurred to the writer of them, that the short document of Roman-catholic faith, which is the subject of the present articles, might, without impropriety, be allowed a place in this compilation. It has no pretensions to the rank of a symbolic book; but it is a clear and accurate exposition of the Roman-catholic creed, *on some of its most important articles,* and has all the authority that such a document can receive from time and universal assent.

The work was first printed in 1680.

Six editions of it were printed before 1684. Lord Stafford referred to it, on his memorable trial in 1680. In the following year appeared "*Stafford's Memoires, or a brief and impartial Account of the trial, principles, and final end of Wil-*

liam, late Lord Viscount Stafford." In a folio edition of this work, which the present writer has seen, they are found in the 47th page.

Six editions of them were published by Mr. Gother in 1684 and 1686. Mr. Gother was the most eminent of the Roman-catholic controversial advocates and spiritual writers of his time. Mr. Dodd, in the third volume of his Ecclesiastical History, p. 482, mentions seventeen controversial, and twelve spiritual works of his composition. "The style of them," he says, "is "natural and unaffected; and, in the opinion of Mr. Dryden, "the Poet Laureat, a master-piece of the English language." His most popular controversial work, is "*A Papist misrepresented and represented, or a two-fold character of Popery.*" A reply to it was published with the title, "*The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented.*" To this, Mr. Gother replied, by "*Reflections upon the answer to the Papist misrepresented.*" A reply to it was published with the title, "*A Papist not misrepresented by Protestants.*" Mr. Gother opposed to it, "*Papists protesting against Protestant Popery.*" This was met by "*An Answer to a discourse intitled, Papists protesting against Protestant Popery.*" There were other answers and replies; those, which have been mentioned, were the most celebrated in their time, and are often met with bound together: he who possesses them has a complete attack and defence of the Roman-catholic religion. *An Abridgment of the Papist misrepresented,* was printed by the late Dr. Challoner; the seventeenth edition of it has been seen by the present writer. The most eminent of Mr. Gother's spiritual works, is his *Instructions on the Epistles and Gospels of the whole year, in three volumes, 8vo.* The reader of them will certainly agree with Mr. Dryden in his opinion of the great beauty of the style, and perhaps think with the present writer, that no composition in the English language approaches nearer to the severe and nervous simplicity of the best writings of the Dean of St. Patrick's. It is no small commendation of The Principles, that they were adopted by such a writer.

Not fewer than twenty-four other editions of The Principles

have been discovered. A partial edition of them was published in 1749, in his *Catechism for the adult,* by the Rev. John Hornyold, a distinguished member of the singularly loved and revered Roman-catholic family of that name, at Blackmore Park, in Worcestershire. That gentleman was afterwards ordained bishop, and was vicar-apostolic of the Midland district of English Roman-catholics. The Principles were published at Dublin, by Mr. O'Connor of Belanagare. On perusing this edition of them, Dr. Leland, the Historian, is said to have declared, that, if such were the principles of Catholics, no government had any right to quarrel with them. Dr. Coppinger, the Roman-catholic bishop in Cloyne, published them in his Prayer Book intitled, *True Piety, or the day well-spent,* now, at least, in its ninth edition. In 1785, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Berrington, to whom the public is indebted for many elegant and interesting works, brought them into general notice, by inserting them at the end of his *Reflections addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins.*

It has been confidently asserted, that the committee of the English Roman-catholics published an edition of The Principles. This is a mistake; but, in 1788, the committee sent to Mr. Pitt, with whom they were then in intercourse on the subject of the bill, which afterwards passed for the relief of the English Roman-catholics, a copy of The Principles. They accompanied it with a letter, dated the 9th day of May, 1788, in which they mentioned to Mr. Pitt, that "they took the liberty to inclose a printed summary of their tenets, which they were persuaded every Catholic would readily sign." The letter was subscribed by Lord Stourton, Lord Petre, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Sir William Jerningham, Sir John Throckmorton, Mr. William Fermor, Mr. John Towneley, and Mr. Thomas Hornyold.

To give this copy of The Principles greater authenticity, the Honourable James Talbot, then vicar-apostolic of the London district of the English Roman-catholics, signed the first page of it, with his name.

The late Dr. Walmesley, the vicar-apostolic of the Midland

district of the English Roman-catholics, is known to have mentioned in a letter to one of his friends, that "The exposition of "the Catholic Doctrine, published in Mr. Berrington's book, "appeared to him to be composed with great judgment and pre-"cision."

Of Mr. Walmesley, thus presented to the writer's mind, (to copy a phrase of Doctor Johnson in his life of Smith, the poet), let the writer be permitted to say, that it is a just cause of reproach to the English province of the religious order to which he belonged,—(he was a Benedictine Monk),—that they have not favoured the public with an account of that gentleman's profound mathematical researches. He first became known, as a mathematician, by a Defence of Sir Isaac Newton's Doctrine of Fluxions, in one of the foreign journals. It was received with universal applause; and the academy of Berlin chose him a member of their institute; but he modestly declined the offer. In 1747, he entered into the discussions, to which the celebrated problem of the Three Bodies then gave rise; and his investigations of it, though scarcely known in his native country, were thought, on the continent, to be on a level with those of Clairaut, d'Alembert, and Euler. While he was thus advancing to the height of mathematical fame, he was appointed vicar apostolic for the Midland district of English Roman-catholics, and upon, or at least soon after his nomination to that situation, he gave up entirely his mathematical pursuits. This, it has been said, was owing to his having been once so completely subdued, while he was celebrating the sacred mysteries, by a mathematical distraction, as to find himself making diagrams, on the linen of the altar, with the patten, a thin plate, used by Catholic bishops and priests, in the ceremonies of the altar. It is also said, that, when his dereliction of mathematics was mentioned to d'Alembert, he expressed great concern at the loss which the mathematics would sustain in consequence of his adieu to them. He lived in an edifying discharge of every pastoral and every pious duty, to a very advanced age: but to the last, if a mathematical subject was mentioned, his countenance would lighten, and discover his suppressed affection for mathematic lore. He

published some mathematical works, which answer his great reputation, and probably left behind him valuable manuscripts. Under the direction of some religious gentlemen of his order, an excellent school has been lately established in Ampleforth, in Yorkshire. There certainly is a call on the superiors of this learned community, for a critical account of the life and writings of a member of their order, who did it so much honour. Very honourable mention is made of him by *Montucla* in his *History of Philosophy.*

The last and best edition of this valuable tract, was published in 1815, by the Rev. John Kirk, the Roman-catholic pastor at Lichfield. He has prefixed to it a laboured and curious enquiry respecting the editions and author of The Principles. By a variety of arguments and inferences he makes it appear highly probable, that the author of them was the Reverend Father, James Corker, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of *Lambspring* in Germany. The enquiry is ably executed and contains much interesting matter. Mr. Kirk is now engaged in preparing for the press, a new edition, to be greatly enlarged, and continued to the present times, of *Mr. Dodd's Church History of England, from* 1500 *to* 1688. It is hoped that it will meet with encouragement: the work is important, and a better editor of it cannot be imagined.

Considering the variety of editions, through which the tract in question has passed, and the character of the editors, there cannot be a doubt of its containing a just and fair exposition of The Principles of the Roman-catholics, on the points to which it relates. As such, from Mr. Kirk's edition of it, we now present it to the reader.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES

IN

REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING.

SECTION I.

Of the Catholic Faith, and Church in general.

1. The fruition of God, and the remission of sin are not attainable by man, otherwise than *in and by the merits of Jesus Christ,* who *gratuitously* purchased them for us.

2. These merits of Christ, though infinite in themselves, are not applied to us, otherwise than by a *right faith* in him.

3. This faith is but *one* entire, and conformable to its object, which is *divine revelation:* and to which *faith* gives an undoubting assent.

4. This *revelation* contains many *mysteries,* transcending the natural reach of human understanding. Wherefore,

5. It became the divine *wisdom* and *goodness* to provide some *way* or *means,* whereby man might arrive to the *knowledge* of these *mysteries;* means *visible* and *apparent* to all; means *proportioned* to the capacities of all; means *sure* and certain to all.

6. This way or means, is not the *reading of scripture,* interpreted according to the *private judgment* of each disjunctive person, or nation in particular; But,

7. It is an *attention* and *submission* to the voice of the

Catholic or *Universal Church,* established by Christ for the instruction of all; spread for that end through all *nations,* and *visibly* continued in the succession of pastors, and people through all *ages.*—From this church, *guided in truth,* and secured from *error* in matters of *faith,* by the *promised assistance of the Holy Ghost,* every one may *learn* the right sense of the *scriptures,* and such Christian *mysteries* and *duties* as are necessary to salvation.

8. This church, thus established, thus spread, thus continued, thus guided, in *one uniform faith,* and *subordination* of government, is that which is termed the *Roman Catholic Church:* the qualities just mentioned, *unity, indeficiency, visibility, succession,* and *universality,* being evidently applicable to her.

9. From the *testimony* and *authority* of this church, it is, that we receive the *scriptures,* and believe them to be the *word of God:* and as she can *assuredly* tell us what particular book is the *word of God,* so can she with the like *assurance* tell us also, the true *sense* and *meaning* of it, in controverted points of *faith;* the same *spirit* that wrote the scriptures, *directing* her to understand both them, and all matters necessary to salvation.—From these grounds it follows:

10. Only *truths revealed* by Almighty God, and *proposed* by the church, to be believed *as such,* are, and ought to be esteemed, *articles* of Catholic faith.

11. As an *obstinate separation* from the *unity* of the church, in *known* matters of faith, is *heresy;* so a *wilful separation* from the *visible* unity of the same church, in matters of *subordination* and *government,* is *schism.*

12. The Church proposes unto us matters of faith, first and chiefly by the Holy Scripture, in points plain and intelligible in it; secondly, by definitions of general councils, in points not sufficiently plain in Scripture; thirdly, by apostolical traditions derived from Christ and his apostles to all succeeding ages; fourthly, by her practice, worship, and ceremonies *confirming her doctrine.*

SECTION II.

Of spiritual and temporal Authority.

1. THE *pastors* of the church—who are the body *representative*—either dispersed or convened in *council*, have received no commission from Christ to frame *new articles of faith*—these being solely *divine revelations*—but only to *explain* and to *define* to the faithful what anciently was, and is received and retained, as of *faith* in the church, when *debates* and *controversies* arise about them. These *definitions* in *matters of faith* only, and proposed *as such*, oblige all the faithful to a *submission of judgment*. But,

2. It is no article of faith, that the church cannot *err*, either in matters of *fact* or *discipline*, alterable by circumstances of time and place, or in matters of *speculation* or *civil policy*, depending on mere human judgment or testimony. These things are no revelations *deposited* in the Catholic church, in regard of which alone, she has the *promised assistance* of the Holy Spirit. —Hence it is deduced,

3. If a *general council*, much less a *papal consistory*, should presume to *depose a king*, and *to absolve his subjects* from their *allegiance*, no *Catholic* could be bound to *submit* to such a *decree*.—Hence also it follows, that,

4. The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any *catholic principle*, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the *doctrine of deposing kings* excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the *fundamental laws* of the nation, as injurious *to sovereign power*, as destructive to *peace and government*, and

consequently in his majesty's subjects, as *impious and damnable.*[1]

5. Catholics believe that the Bishop of *Rome,* successor of St. *Peter,* is the *head of the whole Catholic church;* in which sense, this church may therefore fitly be styled *Roman Catholic,* being an *universal body,* united under *one visible head.* Nevertheless,

6. It is *no matter of faith* to believe that the *Pope* is in himself *infallible,* separated from the church, even in *expounding the faith:* by consequence, *papal definitions* or *decrees,* in whatever form pronounced, taken exclusively from a *general council,* or *universal acceptance of the church,* oblige none, under *pain of heresy,* to an interior assent.

7. Nor do Catholics, as *Catholics,* believe that the *Pope* has any direct or indirect *authority* over the *temporal power* and jurisdiction of *princes.* Hence, if the *Pope* should pretend to *absolve* or *dispense* with his majesty's subjects from their *allegiance,* on account of *heresy* or *schism,* such *dispensation* would be *vain* and *null:* and all Catholic subjects, notwithstanding such *dispensation* or *absolution,* would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, (as far as Protestants would be bound) even *against the Pope* himself, in case he should invade the nation.

8. As for the *problematical disputes,* or errors of particular divines, in this or any other matter whatsoever, we are no wise *responsible* for them; nor are Catholics, as *Catholics,* justly *punishable* on their account. But,

9. As for the *king-killing doctrine,* or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic church, and expressly so declared by the council of *Con-*

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[1] Mr. Berrington in his edition observes in a note at this place, "that he dislikes the word *damnable,* as it conveys no idea, or, if any, says too much: but lets it stand to shew how desirous our ancestors were, by the most emphatical language, to express their detestation of the papal deposing power.

stance, that such doctrine is *impious* and *execrable,* being contrary to the known *laws* of God and nature.

10. *Personal misdemeanors,* of what nature soever, ought not to be *imputed* to the Catholic church, when not justifiable by the *tenets* of her faith and doctrine. For which reason, though the stories of the *Irish cruelties* or *powder plot,* had been exactly true (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated) nevertheless Catholics, as such, ought not to suffer for such *offences,* any more than the eleven apostles ought to have suffered for the *treachery* of *Judas.*

11. It is a *fundamental truth* in our religion, that no *power* on earth can *license* men to *lie,* to *forswear,* or *perjure* themselves, to *massacre* their neighbours, or *destroy* their native country, on pretence *of promoting the Catholic cause or religion:* furthermore, *all pardons* or *dispensations* granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such *ends* or designs, could have no other validity or effect, than to add *sacrilege* and *blasphemy* to the above-mentioned crimes.

12. The doctrine of *equivocation* or mental reservation, however wrongfully imputed to the church, was never taught, or approved by her, as any part of her belief: On the contrary, *simplicity* and *godly sincerity* are constantly inculcated by her as truly *Christian virtues* necessary to the conservation of *justice, truth,* and *common security.*

SECTION III.

Of other Points of Catholic Faith.

1. We believe, that there are seven *sacraments,* or sacred ceremonies, instituted by our Saviour Christ, whereby the *merits* of his passion are *applied* to the soul of the worthy receiver.

2. We *believe*, that when a sinner repents of his sins from the *bottom* of his *heart*, and *acknowledges* his transgressions to *God* and his *ministers, the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ*, resolving to turn from his evil ways, *and bring forth fruits worthy of penance;* there is then, and *no otherwise*, an authority left by Christ to *absolve* such a *penitent sinner* from his sins: which authority, we believe, Christ gave to his *apostles* and their *successors*, the *bishops* and *priests* of his church, in those words, when he said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them, &c.*

3. Though no creature whatsoever can make condign *satisfaction*, either for the *guilt* of sin, or the *pain eternal* due to it, this *satisfaction* being proper to Christ our Saviour only; yet *penitent sinners*, redeemed by Christ, may, as *members* of Christ, in some measure *satisfy* by prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and other works of piety, for the *temporal pain*, which in the order of divine justice sometimes remains due, after the *guilt* of sin and *pains eternal* have been remitted. Such *penitential works* are, notwithstanding, no otherwise *satisfactory* than as *joined* and applied to that *satisfaction*, which Jesus made upon the cross, in virtue of which *alone* all our good works find a grateful acceptance in the sight of God.

4. The *guilt of sin*, or *pain eternal* due to it, is *never* remitted by what Catholics call *indulgences;* but only such *temporal punishments* as remain due after the guilt is remitted:—these *indulgences* being nothing else than a *mitigation* or *relaxation*, upon just causes, of *canonical penances*, enjoined by the pastors of the church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit.—And if abuses or mistakes have been sometimes committed, in point either of granting or gaining *indulgences*, through the remissness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the ancient custom and discipline of the church; such abuses or mistakes cannot rationally be charged on the church, or rendered matters of derision, in prejudice to her faith and discipline.

5. Catholics hold there is a *purgatory;* that is to say, a

place, or state, where souls departing this life, with remission of their sins, as to the eternal guilt or pain, but yet *obnoxious* to some temporal *punishment*, of which we have spoken, still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some *defects* or deordinations, are *purged* before their admittance into heaven, where nothing that is *defiled* can enter. Furthermore,

6. Catholics also hold, that such souls so detained in *purgatory*, being the *living members* of Christ Jesus, are *relieved* by the *prayers* and *suffrages* of their *fellow-members* here on earth: But where this place is; of what nature or quality the pains are; how long souls may be there detained; in what manner the *suffrages* made in their behalf are applied; whether by way of *satisfaction* or *intercession*, &c. are questions superfluous and impertinent as to faith.

7. No man, though *just*, can merit either an increase of sanctity in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independently on the merits and passion of Christ Jesus: But the *good works* of a just man proceeding from *grace* and *charity*, are so far *acceptable* to God through his goodness and sacred *promises*, as to be truly *meritorious* of eternal life.

8. It is an article of Catholic belief, that in the most holy sacrament of the *Eucharist*, there is truly and really contained the *body* of Christ, *which was delivered for us; and his blood, which was shed for the remission of sins:* the substance of *bread* and *wine* being, by the powerful words of Christ, *changed* into the *substance* of his blessed body and blood; the *species* or appearances of *bread* and *wine*, by the will of God, remaining as they were. But,

9. Christ is not present in this sacrament, according to his *natural* way of existence, or rather as *bodies* naturally exist, but in a manner proper to the character of his exalted and *glorified* body: His presence then is *real* and *substantial*, but *sacramental;* not exposed to the external senses, or obnoxious to corporal contingencies.

10. Neither is the body of Christ, in this holy sacrament, *separated* from his blood, or his blood from his body, or either of

them disjoined from his soul and divinity; but all and whole *living Jesus* is *entirely* contained under *either* species: so that whosoever receives under *one kind* is truly partaker of the *whole* sacrament; he is not deprived either of the body or the blood of Christ. True it is,

11. Our Saviour left unto us his body and blood, under two *distinct species*, or kinds; in doing of which he instituted not only a *sacrament*, but also a *sacrifice*; a *commemorative sacrifice*, distinctly *shewing* his death and bloody passion, *until he come*. For as the *sacrifice of the cross* was performed by a distinct *effusion of blood*; so is that sacrifice commemorated in that of the *altar*, by a *distinction of the symbols*. Jesus therefore is here *given*, not only *to us*, but *for us*; and the church thereby is enriched with a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice usually termed the *mass*.

12. Catholics renounce all *divine worship* and adoration of *images* and *pictures*; God alone we *worship and adore*; nevertheless we place pictures in our churches, to reduce our wandering thoughts and to enliven our memories towards *heavenly things*. Further, we shew a *respect* to the images of Christ and his saints, beyond what is due to every profane figure; not that we can believe any *divinity* or virtue to reside in them, for which they ought to be honoured, but because the honour given to pictures is referred to the *prototype*, or thing represented. In like manner,

13. There is a kind of honour and respect due to the *bible*, to the *cross*, to the name of *Jesus*, to *churches*, to the *sacraments*, &c. as things peculiarly appertaining to God; and to *kings*, *magistrates*, and *superiors* on earth; to whom honour is due, honour may be given, without any derogation to the majesty of God, or that divine worship which is appropriate to him. Moreover.

14. Catholics believe, that the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity, *pray* for us their *fellow-members* here on earth; that they rejoice at our *conversion*: that seeing God, they *see* and *know in him* all things suitable to their happy state: But God may be inclinable to hear their *requests* made in our

behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favours; therefore we believe that it is *good* and *profitable* to *desire* their *intercession*. Can this manner of *invocation* be more injurious to Christ our *mediator*, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another here on earth? However, Catholics are not taught so to rely on the *prayers* of others, as to neglect their own *duty* to God; in *imploring* his *divine mercy* and *goodness;* in mortifying the *deeds of the flesh;* in *despising* the world; in *loving* and *serving* God and their neighbour; in following the *footsteps* of Christ our Lord, who is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life:* to whom be honour, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

ESSAY IV.

On the Reunion of Christians.

It was the intention of the writer of these pages, to close his account of the symbolic books of the Christian Churches, with a succinct History of the Attempts, which have been made at different times, for their Reunion. The subject has been exhausted by a learned and interesting work, published at Paris, "*De la Ré-union des Communions Chrétiennes; ou Histoire des Négotiations, Conférences, Correspondances qui ont eu lieu, des projets et des plans qui ont été formées à ce sujet, depuis la naissance du Protestanisme jusqu' à présent. Par M. Tabaraud, prêtre de la ci-devant congrégation de l'Oratoire. Paris,* 1808, 1 *vol.* 8*vo.*" An excellent sketch of these attempts had been previously given by *Doctor Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, Cent. XVI. sect.* 2. *part* 2. *c.* 1. *and Cent. XVII. sect.* 2. *c.* 1. To these publications the reader is referred:—the present Essay may be found to contain, I. A general view of the attempts made after the Reformation, to unite the Lutheran and Calvinist churches: II. Some account of the attempts made at different times by the sovereigns of France for the conversion of their protestant subjects: III. The correspondence of Bossuet and Leibnitz, under the auspices of Lewis the Fourteenth, for the reunion of the Lutheran Churches to the Church of Rome: IV. Some account of an attempt made in the reign of George the First, to reunite the Church of England to the Church of Rome: V. And some general remarks on the reunion of Christians. Under the first of these heads, a short mention will be made of

the members of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, called vulgarly Moravians.

I.

Attempts to unite the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches.

The great division of Protestant Churches is into the Lutheran and Calvinist communions. The Abbé Tabaraud relates in the work, which we have just cited, not fewer than fifteen different attempts to effect a re-union of their churches. In reading his account and the account given by Mosheim of these attempts, there appears to the writer, to have been on each side something to commend and something to blame. It seems to him, that the Lutherans deserve credit for the open and explicit manner, in which, on these occasions, they propounded the tenets of their creed to the Calvinists; that the conduct of the Calvinists was more liberal and conciliating; but that, on the other hand, the conduct of the Lutherans towards the Calvinists was generally repulsive and sometimes deserving a much harsher name; while the conduct of the Calvinists was sometimes chargeable with ambiguity. "It was deplorable," says Mosheim, (Cent. xvii. sect. 2. part 2. art. 3.) "to see two churches, "which had discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and forti- "tude in throwing off the despotic yoke of Rome, divided among "themselves, and living in discords, that were highly detrimental "to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society. "Hence, several eminent divines and leading men both among "the Lutherans and Calvinists, sought anxiously after some me- "thod of uniting the two churches, though divided in their opin- "ions, in the bonds of Christian charity and ecclesiastical commu- "nion. A competent knowledge of human nature and human "passions was sufficient to persuade these wise and pacific media-

"tors, that a perfect uniformity in religious opinions was not "practicable, and that it would be entirely extravagant to imagine "that any of these communities could ever be brought to embrace "universally, and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. "They made it, therefore, their principal business to persuade "those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy, "that the points in debate between the two churches were not "essential to true religion ;—that the fundamental doctrines of "Christianity were received and professed in both communions; "and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, "turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible "nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to "make mankind wiser or better, and in which the interests of ge-"nuine piety were in no wise concerned. Those, who viewed "things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowledge, that "the diversity of opinions between the two churches was by no "means a sufficient reason for their separation ; and that of con-"sequence they were called, by the dictates of that gospel, which "they both professed, to live, not only in the mutual exercise of "Christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of "church communion. The greatest part of the reformed doctors "seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the Luther-"ans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious ten-"dency; and that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had "not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; "and thus, on their side, an important step was made towards "peace and union between the two churches. But the greatest "part of the Lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form "a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the Reformed "churches; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the "points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that "a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the funda-"mental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all sur-"prising, that this steadiness and constancy of the Lutherans was "branded by the opposite party with the epithets of morose ob-"stinacy, supercilious arrogance, and such like odious denomina-"tions. The Lutherans were not behind hand with their adver-

"saries, in acrimony of style; they recriminated with vehemence, "and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, diffe-"rent in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them "with having dealt disingenuously, by disguising, under ambiguous "expressions, the real doctrine of the reformed churches; they "observed further, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their "consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on "many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between "the two churches arose from views of private interest, rather "than from a zeal for the public good." It is observable that Mosheim applies these observations to a late stage of the reformation, when much of its first violence had subsided.

The nearest approach to a re-union between any protestant churches seems to be that, which took place at Sendomer, in the year 1570. In a former part of this work, mention was made of this convention, of its dissolution, and of the subsequent union of the Helvetian and Bohemian protestant congregations in the Synods, held at Astrog, in the years 1620, and 1627. The original settlement of these churches was in Bohemia and Moravia. Persecution scattered the members of them: a considerable number of the fugitives settled at Herrenhut, a village in Lusatia. There, under the protection and guidance of Count Zinzendorf, they formed themselves into a new community, which was designed to comprehend their actual and future congregations, under the title of "*The Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren of the Confession of Augsburgh.*" That Confession is their only symbolic book; but they profess great esteem for the eighteen first chapters of the Synodical document of the church of Berne in 1532, as a declaration of true Christian Doctrine. They also respect the writings of Count Zinzendorf, but do not consider themselves bound by any opinion, sentiment, or expression which these contain. It is acknowledged, that, towards the middle of the last century, they used in their devotional exercises, particularly in their hymns, many expressions justly censurable: but these have been corrected. They consider Lutherans and Calvinists,

to be their brethren in faith, as according with them in the essential articles of religion; and therefore, when any of their members reside at a distance from a congregation of the united brethren, they not only attend a Lutheran, or Calvinist church, but receive the Sacrament from its ministers, without scruple. In this, they profess to act in conformity to the convention at Sendomer. The union, which prevails both among the congregations, and the individuals which compose them, their modest and humble carriage, their moderation in lucrative pursuits, the simplicity of their manners, their laborious industry, their frugal habits, their ardent but mild piety, and their regular discharge of all their spiritual observances, are universally acknowledged and admired. Their charities are boundless, their kindness to their poor brethren is most edifying; there is not among them a beggar. The care which they bestow on the education of their children, in forming their minds, chastening their hearts and curbing their imaginations,—particularly in those years,

> "When youth, elate and gay,
> Steps into life and follows, unrestrained,
> Where passion leads, or reason points the way." *Lowth.*

are universally acknowledged, universally admired, and deserve universal imitation.

But, it is principally by the extent and success of their missionary labours that they now engage the attention of the public. These began in 1732. In 1812, they had thirty-three settlements in heathen nations. One hundred and thirty-seven missionaries were employed in them: they had baptised twenty-seven thousand four hundred converts: and such had been their care in admitting them to that sacred rite, and such their assiduity in cultivating a spirit of religion among them, that scarcely an individual had been known to relapse into paganism. All travellers who have visited their settlements speak with wonder and praise, of the humility, the patient endurance of privation and hardship, the affectionate zeal, the mild and persevering exertions of the missionaries; and the innocence, industry and piety of the converts:—the European, the American, the African,

and the Asiatic traveller speaks of them in the same terms: and, that they speak without exaggeration, the conduct both of the pastor and the flock in the different settlements of the united brethren in England, incontestibly proves. Whatever he may think of their religious tenets, *Talis cùm sis, utinam noster esses,* must be the exclamation of every christian, who considers their lives. Those, who desire further knowledge of this amiable and worthy denomination of Christians, will find it in *David Cranz's antient and modern History of the Brethren, printed at Barby,* 1771, *and the two continuations of it, Barby,* 1791, and 1804. The History has been translated into English; and is become exceedingly scarce: the continuations have not been translated. Mr. La Trobe, the Pastor of the united brethren in London, has published a *Concise Historical Account of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren adhering to the Confession of Augsburgh.*

II.

Attempts for a reunion of the Calvinist churches to the see of Rome.

Having thus summarily noticed the unsuccessful attempts to effect an union between the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, we proceed to a similar summary mention of the attempts, equally unsuccessful, to effect the reunion of the Calvinists to the church of Rome, which were made, 1st during the reign of Henry the Fourth: 2dly, during the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth: and 3dly, during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth: 4thly, we shall afterwards notice the Revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the complete restoration of the protestants of France to their civil rights in the reign of Lewis the Eighteenth.

II. 1. An attempt to reunite the Calvinists to the church of Rome was made at the celebrated conference held at Poissi in 1561. In the work which we have cited, the Abbé Tabaraud gives a short and clear account of this conference. It failed of

success, and a long civil war of religion ensued. It was closed by the conversion of *Henry the Fourth* to the Roman-catholic religion. He was no sooner quietly seated on the throne, than he conceived the arduous, but certainly the noble project of pacifying the religious contests of the world. It appears that he was induced to entertain hopes of the success of this measure, by the assurances given him by the Calvinist ministers, when his change of religion was in agitation, that salvation might be obtained in the church of Rome; and from his expectation of finding a spirit of conciliation and concession in the see of Rome. "I have heard from persons of distinction," says Grotius, Epist. 1706, p. 736, "that Henry the Fourth declared that he had great hopes of procuring for the King of England, and the other protestant princes, who were his allies, conditions, which they could not honorably refuse, if they had any real wish of returning to the unity of the church; and that he had once an intention of employing bishops of his own kingdom on this project; but that this project failed by his death."

It is said, that with these views he had sent for Isaac Casaubon, a protestant divine of equal learning and moderation, and appointed him his librarian; and that he intended confidentially employing him in preparing means for the success of the measure, and smoothing the obstacles which might impede its progress. Grotius, (*epist.* 613), mentions, as a saying of Casaubon, that "the catholics of France had a juster way of thinking than the ministers of Charenton:" these were the most rigid of the French Hugonot ministers. It is observable that the French government always considered the Hugonots of a much more refractory disposition than the Lutherans.

II. 2. The pacific views of Henry the Fourth were terminated by his decease. The capture of la Rochelle by the arms of *Lewis the 13th* was a fatal blow to the political consequence of the protestant party in France. Cardinal Richelieu immediately set on foot a project for the general conversion of the body: two persons of very different characters were employed by him in this measure; Father Joseph, a capuchin friar, the confident of all the cardinal's political and private schemes, and Father

P. Dulaurens, an oratorian, who lived in retirement, wholly absorbed in the exercises of religion. They began the work of re-union by holding frequent conferences, on an amicable footing, with several of the protestant ministers; and it was resolved, that, with the permission of the pope, and the authority of the king, an assembly should be convened of ecclesiastics of each communion. Father Dulaurens recommended that the intended communications with the ministers should not take place, till they reached the capital: but the cardinal thought it more advisable that the ministers should be separately informed of the project before they left the provinces. It was accordingly communicated to them, and favourably received by the ministers of Languedoc and Normandy, but met with an unfavourable reception from the ministers of Sedan. It was resolved that the assembly should meet and begin their deliberations with the differences in the opinions of the two churches, respecting the Sacraments. Father Dulaurens recommended, that for some time, at least, the Bible, even in the Calvinist version of Olivétan, should be the only book appealed to on either side, as authority: but the Cardinal insisted on a resort to tradition. Grotius mentions that in several articles, (as communion under both kinds, and the invocation of saints), the Cardinal was willing that concessions should be made to the Protestants; and suggested, that, as a medium, to reconcile them to the Pope, a patriarchate should be established in France, and he himself be the first patriarch. (*Epist. Part* 1. *Epist.* 482. *Part* 11. *Epist.* 53.) Notwithstanding the general loftiness and overbearing nature of his manners, it appears, particularly from M. de Rullhières, (*Eclaircissemens sur l'édit de Nantes, Part* 1. *c.* 6.) that the Cardinal acted on this occasion with great moderation, and recommended to his royal master a similar line of moderation, in all his conduct towards his Protestant subjects.

II. 3. The Cardinal's project was suspended by his decease; and resumed under *Lewis the Fourteenth.* In 1662, a plan, drawn up by M. le Blanc de Beaulieu, a Professor of Divinity at Sedan, singularly esteemed both by the Roman-

catholics and Protestants, by which the essential articles in dispute were reduced to a small number, was adopted by the Court, to serve as the basis of discussion. It was resolved, that different synods of Protestant Ministers should be convened; that these should be composed of Ministers of known moderation and pacific views, and the articles, drawn up by M. le Blanc de Beaulieu, presented to them. Three years were employed in negotiations for effecting this project: several ministers in the lower Languedoc, and the Isle of France, expressed themselves in terms favourable to the measure, but the Synod of Charenton took the alarm, and the project was abandoned.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a measure equally unwise and unjust, too soon followed. It is more to be attributed to his ministers and advisers, than to Lewis the Fourteenth himself. From the *Eclaircissemens Historiques* of M. de Rullhières, and the Life of Bossuet, by M. Baussét, (l. 2. p. 38—148.), it seems evident, that Lewis the Fourteenth had been induced to believe, that the number of Protestants was much smaller; that the conversions of them would be much more rapid, general, and sincere; and that the measures for hastening their conversion would be much less violent than they really were. It is also due to the monarch to add, that from the authors, whom we have cited, it is evident, that when he began to perceive the true state of the transaction, though from false principles of honour and policy, he would not revoke the edict, he wished it not to be put into great activity, and checked the forwardness of the intendents in its execution.

It is whimsical, (if on so serious a subject such a word may be used), that the dragonâde, or employment of the dragoon troops in forcing the conversion of the Hugonots, was owing to the wish of Louvois, the minister of Lewis the Fourteenth, to become himself a missionary. Observing how much the apparent success of the missionaries recommended them to Lewis the Fourteenth, he began to consider them as dangerous rivals for the favour of his royal master, and determined, there-

fore, to become himself a principal performer. With this view, he instituted the dragoon missions, and thus brought a material part of the work of conversion into the war department.

II. 4. The death of Lewis, and the known disposition of the Regent, appeared to the Protestant party in France to afford a proper opportunity of recovering their rights. Duclos, in his *Mémoires secrets sur les regnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.*, says, that the Regent himself wished to restore the Protestants to their civil rights, but was dissuaded by his council. Still, he seldom permitted the edicts against them to be executed; and speaking generally, the Protestants seem to have suffered no active persecution in any part of the reign of Lewis the XVth. One intolerable grievance, however, they unquestionably suffered in every part of it. Their religious principles did not permit them to be married by a Roman-catholic priest, in the manner prescribed by the law of the state, and that law did not recognize the legal validity of a marriage, celebrated in any other form. The consequence was, that in the eye of the law, the marriage of Protestants was a mere concubinage, and the offspring of it illegitimate. To his immortal honour, *Lewis the XVIth.*, by his edict of the 17th of November, 1787, accorded to all his non-catholic subjects the full and complete enjoyment of all the rights of his Roman-catholic subjects. On a division in the Parliament, this edict was registered by a majority of 96 votes against 16.

The persecution of the Hugonots in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was condemned by the greatest men in France. M. d'Aguesseau, the father of the celebrated chancellor, resigned his office of Intendant of Languedoc rather than remain a witness of it: his son repeatedly mentions it with abhorrence. Fénélon, Flechier, and Bossuet, confessedly the ornaments of the Gallican church, lamented it. To the utmost of their power, they prevented the execution of the edict, and lessened its severities, when they could not prevent them. Most sincerely lamenting and condemning the outrages committed by the Roman-catholics against the Protestants at Nismes,

as violations of the law of God and man, but doubting of the nature and extent, which some have attributed to them, the writer of these pages begs leave to refer to the sermon preached on them by the Reverend James Archer, a Roman-catholic priest, and printed for Booker, in Bond-street, by the desire of two Roman-catholic congregations, as expressing the doctrine of the Roman-catholic church, and of all real Christians on heretics and the persecution of heretics.

III.

The Correspondence of Bossuet and Leibniz, under the auspices of Lewis the XIVth., for the Reunion of the Lutheran Protestants to the Roman-Catholic Church.

This correspondence forms one of the most interesting events in the life of Bossuet; and the letters, of which it consists, and the other written documents, which relate to it, are highly interesting. The writer will attempt to present the reader with a short account—1st. Of the circumstances which led to this correspondence; 2ndly. Of the Project of Reunion, delivered by Molanus, a Lutheran Divine, and Bossuet's sentiments on that Project; 3dly. Of the Intervention of Leibniz in the negotiation; and 4thly. Of the Project suggested by Bossuet, and the principal reasons, by which he contended for its reception.

III. 1. It appears that, towards the 17th century, the Emperor Leopold, and several sovereign princes in Germany, conceived a project of reuniting the Roman-catholics and Lutheran churches. The Duke of Brunswick, who had recently embraced the Roman-catholic religion, and published his Fifty Reasons for his conversion, (once a popular work of controversy), and the Duke of Hanover, the father of the first prince of the illustrious house, which now fills the throne of England, were the original promoters of the attempt. It was generally approved; and the mention of it at the Diet of the Empire was favourably received. Some communications upon it took place

between the emperor and the ducal princes: and with all their knowledge, several conferences were held upon the subject, between certain distinguished Roman-catholic and Protestant Divines. In these, the Bishop of Neustadt and Molanus, the Abbot of Lokkum, took the lead. The first had been consecrated Bishop of Tina in Bosnia, then under the dominion of the Turks, with Ordinary jurisdiction over some parts of the Turkish Territories. His conduct had recommended him to Innocent the XIth, and that pope had directed him to visit the Protestant states in Germany, and inform him of their actual dispositions in respect to the Church of Rome. In consequence of this mission, he became known to the Emperor, who appointed him to the See of Neustadt, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Molanus was Director of the Protestant Churches and Consistories of Hanover. Both of them were admirably calculated for the office intended them on this occasion. Each possessed the confidence of his own party, and was esteemed by the other: each was profoundly versed in the matters in dispute: each possessed good sense, moderation, and conciliating manners; and each had the success of the business at heart, and a fixed purpose, that nothing, but a real difference on some essential article of doctrine, should frustrate the project.

The effect of the first conferences was so promising, that the Emperor and the two Princes resolved, that they should be conducted in a manner more regular, and more likely to bring the object of them to a conclusion. With this view, the business was formally entrusted by both the princes to Molanus alone, and the emperor published a rescript, dated the 20th March, 1691, by which he gave the Bishop of Neustadt full authority to treat, on all matters of religion, with the states, communities, and individuals of the empire, reserving to the ecclesiastical and imperial powers, their right to confirm the acts of the Bishop, as they should judge adviseable. Under these auspicious circumstances, the conference between the Bishop of Neustadt and Molanus began.

But, before the events which we have mentioned took place, a correspondence on the subject of a general reunion between Catholics and Protestants had been carried on for some time, between Pelisson and Leibniz. The former held a considerable rank among the French writers, who adorned the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth; the latter was eminently distinguished in the literary world. In the exact sciences, he was inferior to Newton alone; in metaphysics, he had no superior; in general learning, he had scarcely a rival. He had recommended himself to the Brunswick family, by three volumes, which he had recently published, on the antiquities of that illustrious house; and was then engaged in the investigation of its Italian descent, and early German shoots. The result of it, under the title of *Origines Guelphicæ*, was published, after his decease, by Scheidius, and is considered to be a perfect model of genealogical history. He was also thoroughly conversant in the theological disputes of the times; and in all the questions of dogma or history which enter into them.

His correspondence with Pelisson came to the knowledge of Louisa, Princess Palatine and Abbess of Maubrusson. She was a daughter of Frederick, the Elector and Count Palatine of the Rhine, and a sister of the Duchess of Hanover. In early life, she had been converted to the Roman-catholic religion, and had the conversion of her sister very much at heart. With this view, she sent to her the correspondence between Leibniz and Pelisson, and received from her an account of what was passing between the Bishop of Neustadt and Molanus. Both the ladies were anxious to promote the measure, and that Bossuet should take in it the leading part, on the side of the Catholics. This was mentioned to Lewis the Fourteenth, and had his approbation. The Emperor and both the Princes, by all of whom Bossuet was personally esteemed, equally approved of it, and it was finally settled that Bossuet and Leibniz should be joined to the Bishops of Neustadt and Molanus, and that the correspondence with Bossuet should pass through the hands of Madame de Brinon, who acted as secretary to the Abbess of

Maubrusson, and is celebrated, by the writers of the times, for her wit and dexterity in business. Thus the matter assumed a still more regular form, and much was expected from the acknowledged talents, learning, and moderation of the actors in it, and their patrons.

III. 2. The conferences between the Bishop of Neustadt and Molanus continued for 7 months, and ended in their agreeing on 12 articles, to serve for the basis of the discussion, on the terms of the reunion.

The Bishop of Neustadt communicated these articles to Bossuet. He seems to have approved of them generally, but to have thought, that some alteration in them was adviseable. This being mentioned to Molanus, he published his *Cogitationes Privatæ,* a profound and conciliating dissertation. Without entering into any discussion on the points in dispute between the churches, he suggested in it a kind of truce, during which, there should be ecclesiastical communion between them: the Lutherans were to acknowledge the Pope as the first of Bishops in order and dignity: the Church of Rome was to receive the Lutherans as her children, without exacting from them any retractation of their alledged errors, or any renunciation of the articles in their creed, condemned by the Council of Trent. The anathemas of that council were to be suspended, and a general council was to be convened, in which the Protestants were to have a deliberative voice: the sentence of that council was to be definitive, and, in the mean time, the members of each party were to treat the members of the other as brethren, whose errors, however great they might appear, were to be tolerated from motives of peace, and in consideration of their engagements to abandon them, if the council should pronounce against them. To show the probability of a final accommodation, Molanus notices, in his Dissertation, several points, in which one party imputed to the other errors not justly chargeable on them; several, on which they disputed merely for want of rightly understanding each other; and several, in which the dispute was of words only.

It appears that the Bishop of Neustadt communicated this dissertation to Bossuet, and that Bossuet was delighted with the good sense, candour, and true spirit of conciliation, which it displayed. He frequently mentions, and always in terms of the highest praise, its author, in his letters. His own language was equally moderate and conciliating. "The Council of Trent,' he says in one of his letters, "is our stay; but we shall not use it to prejudice the cause. This would be to take for granted what is in dispute between us. We shall deal more fairly with our opponents. We shall make the council serve for a statement and explanation of our doctrines. Thus, we shall come to an explanation on those points, in which either of us imputes to the other, what he does not believe, and in which we dispute, only because we misconceive each other. This may lead us far; for *the Abbot of Lokkum has actually conciliated the points so essential of Justification and the Eucharist: nothing is wanting in him, on that side, but that he should be avowed. Why should we not hope to conclude in the same manner, disputes less difficult and of less importance? Cela se peut pousser si avant, que M. l'Abbé de Lokkum a concilié actuellement les points si essentiels de la justification et du sacrifice de l'Eucharistie, et il ne lui manque de ce coté la, que de se faire avouer. Pourquoi ne pas espérer de finir par les mêmes moyens des disputes moins difficiles et moins importantes?*"

With these rational and conciliatory dispositions, Bossuet and Molanus proceeded. But, after this stage of the business, Molanus disappears, and Leibniz comes on the scene.

III. 3. A Letter, written by Bossuet to M. de Brinon, having been communicated by her to Leibniz, opened the correspondence between him and Bossuet. In that letter, Bossuet declared explicitly, that the Church of Rome was ready to make concessions on points of discipline, and to explain doctrines, but would make no concession in respect to defined articles of faith; and, in particular, would make no such concession, in respect to any which had been defined by the Council of Trent.

Leibniz's Letter to M. de Brinon, in answer to this communication is very important. He expresses himself in these terms: "The Bishop of Meaux says, 1st. That the Project delivered to the Bishop of Neustadt, does not appear to him quite sufficient; 2ndly. That it is, nevertheless, very useful, as every thing must have its beginning; 3dly. That Rome will never relax from any point of doctrine, defined by the church, and cannot capitulate, in respect to any such article; 4thly. That the doctrine, defined in the Council of Trent, is received in and out of France by all Roman-catholics; 5thly. That satisfaction may be given to Protestants, in respect to certain points of discipline, or in the way of explanation, and that this had been already done in an useful manner, in some points, mentioned in the Project of the Bishop of Neustadt. These are the material propositions in the letter of the Bishop of Meaux, and I believe all these propositions true. Neither the Bishop of Neustadt, nor those who negotiated with them, make any opposition to them. There is nothing in them, which is not conformable to the sentiments of those persons. The third of them in particular, which might be thought an obstacle to these Projects of Accommodation, could not be unknown to them; one may even say, that they built on it."

It seems difficult to deny, that, in this stage of the business, much had been gained to the cause of reunion. The parties were come to a complete understanding on the important articles of Justification, and the Eucharist; and it was admitted, both by Leibniz and Molanus, that, in their view of the concern, an accommodation might be effected between the Roman-catholic and Lutheran churches, though the former retained all her defined doctrines, and, in particular, all her doctrines defined by the Council of Trent. The question then was, what should be done in respect to the remaining articles in difference between the churches? It is to be wished, that it had been left to Bossuet and Molanus to settle them, in the way of amicable explanation, in which they had settled the two important articles, which we have mentioned. It is evident, from the pas-

sages, which we have cited from Bossuet, that it was his wish, that the business should proceed on that plan, and that he had hopes of its success. Unfortunately, the business took another direction: Leibniz proclaimed, that after every possible explanation should be given, the Lutheran church would still retain some articles, contrary to the defined doctrines of the Church of Rome, and anathematized by the Council of Trent. To remove the final effect of this objection, Leibniz held out Molanus's first project, that the Lutherans should express a general acquiescence in the authority of the church, and promise obedience to the decisions of a General Council, to be called for the purpose of pronouncing on these points; and that, in consequence of these advances on their part, the anathemas of the Council of Trent should be suspended, and the Lutherans received, provisionally, within the pale of the Catholic Church. To bring over Bossuet to this plan, he exerted great eloquence, and displayed no common learning.

III. 4. But the eloquence and learning of Leibniz were without effect. In language, equally temperate and firm, Bossuet adhered to his text, that in matters of discipline, or any other matter, distinct from faith, the Church of Rome would show the utmost indulgence to the Lutherans, but that, on articles of faith, and specifically, on those propounded by the Council of Trent, there could be no compromise. This, however, he confined to articles of faith alone: and even on articles of faith, he wished to consult the feelings of Protestants, as much as possible. He offered them every fair explanation of the tenets of the council; he required from them no retractation of their own tenets: "Molanus," he says, "will not allow retractation to be mentioned. It may be dispensed with; it will be sufficient that the parties acknowledge the truth, by way of declaration or explanation. To this, the symbolical books give a clear opening, as appears by the passages, which have been produced from them, and will appear, by other passages, which may be produced from them."

If Bossuet was thus considerate in what regarded faith, it will easily be supposed, how indulgent his sentiments were, in

respect to all, that merely regarded discipline. A complete confession of faith being once obtained from the Lutherans, he was willing to allow them, if they required it, communion under both kinds; that their Bishops should retain their Sees; and that where there was no Bishop, and the whole body of the people was Protestant, under the care of a superintendant, *that* superintendant should be consecrated their Bishop; that, where there was a Catholic Bishop and a considerable part of the diocese was Lutheran, the superintendant should be consecrated priest, and invested with rank and office; that the Lutheran Ministers should be consecrated priests; that provision should be made for their support; that such of their bishops and ministers as were married, might retain their wives, and that the consciences of those, who held possessions of the church, should be quieted, except in respect to hospitals, whose possessions he thought could not conscientiously be withheld from the poor objects of their foundations; and that every other arrangement should be made by the church and state which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of their new brethren.

Such were the advances made by Bossuet; and much discussion on them took place between him and Leibniz. They continued ten years. They are very learned, and a scholar will read them with delight; but, unfortunately, they rather retarded than promoted their object. The real business ended, when Molanus quitted the scene. We shall close this article, with the following extract from the last letter but one, written by Bossuet, on the subject. It is addressed to Leibniz, and bears date the 12th August, 1701, ten years after his first letter on it was written.

"Among the divines of the Confession of Augsbourgh, I always placed M. Molanus in the first rank, as a man, whose learning, candour and moderation made him one of the persons, the most capable I have known, of advancing the NOBLE PROJECT OF REUNION. In a letter, which I wrote to him some years ago, by the Count Balati, I assured him, that, if

he could obtain the general consent of his party, to what he calls his Private Thoughts, *Cogitationes Privatæ*, I promised myself, that, by joining to them the remarks which I sent to him, on the Confession of Augsburg, and the other symbolic writings of the Protestants, the work of the reunion would be perfected, in all its most difficult and most essential points; so that well disposed persons might, in a short time, bring it to a conclusion." The passage is so important, that it is proper to present it to the reader in Bossuet's own words. " Parmi les Théologiens de la Confession d'Ausbourg, j'ai toujours mis au premier rang, M. l'Abbé de Lokkum, comme un homme, dont le sçavoir, la candeur, et la modération le rendoient un des plus capables, que je connusse, pour avancer CE BEAU DESSEIN. Cela est si véritable, que j'ai cru devoir assurer ce docte Abbé, dans la réponse que je lui fis, il y a déjà plusieurs années, par M. le Comte Balati, que s'il pouvoit faire passer ce qu'il appelle ses Pensées Particulières, *Cogitationes Privatæ*, à un consentement suffisant, je me promettois qu'en y joignant les remarques que je lui envoyois sur la Confession d'Ausbourg, et les autres écrits symboliques des Protestans, l'ouvrage de la Réunion seroit achevé dans ses parties les plus difficiles et les plus essentielles; en sorte qu'il ne faudroit à des personnes bien disposées, que très peu de tems pour la conclure."

This article is extracted from *Œuvres Posthumes de Bossuet*, 1 *Vol. Nouvelle édition des Œuvres de Bossuet*, 11 *Vol. Leibnizii Opera, studio Lud. Dutens.* 1 & 5 *Vol.: and the Pensées de Leibniz.* 2 *Vol.* 8*vo.*

Dom de Foris, the Benedictine Editor of the new edition of the works of Bossuet, and the Abbé Racine, *Abrégé de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Tom.* 13, are very severe in their censures of the conduct of Leibniz in the negociations for the reunion, and attribute its failure to his presumption and duplicity. To the writer of these pages, it appears clear, that Leibniz was sincere in his wishes for the reunion; and that, if he occasioned its failure, it was unintentionally. While the business was in the hands of Bossuet and Molanus, it was a treaty, not for the reunion of the Roman-Catholic church, and all Protestant

churches, but for the reunion of the Roman-Catholic church and the Lutheran church; and to this, Molanus's endeavours to reconcile differences, were directed. Leibniz, whose principles in religion were much wider than those of Molanus, seems to have wished that the negociation should be placed on a broader basis, and extended to a reunion of the church of Rome, with every denomination of Christians. This gave the negociation a different direction, and in a great measure undid what had been so happily begun. We have seen that, to the very last, Bossuet called out for Molanus, and entertained great hopes, that, if the matter were left to Molanus and him, the noble Project of Reunion would be crowned with success. There is no part of Bossuet's literary or active life, in which he appears to greater advantage, or in a more amiable light, than on this occasion.

IV.

Attempts in the reign of Lewis the XV. to effect an union between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England.

Of all Protestant churches, the national church of England most nearly resembles the church of Rome. It has retained much of the dogma, and much of the discipline of Roman-catholics. Down to the subdeacon it has retained the whole of their hierarchy; and, like them, has its deans, rural deans, chapters, prebends, archdeacons, rectors, and vicars; a liturgy, taken in a great measure, from the Roman-catholic liturgy; and composed like that, of Psalms, Canticles, the three creeds, litanies, epistles, gospels, prayers, and responses. Both churches have the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, the absolution of the sick, the burial service, the sign of the cross in baptism, the reservation of confirmation and order to bishops, the difference

of episcopal and sacerdotal dress, feasts, and fasts. Without adopting all the general councils of the church of Rome, the church of England has adopted the first four of them; and, without acknowledging the authority of the other councils, or the authority of the early fathers, the English divines of the established church allow them to be entitled to a high degree of respect. On the important article of the eucharist, the language of the thirty-nine articles sounds very like the doctrine of the church of Rome.

At the time, of which we are speaking, the doctrines of the high church, which are generally considered to incline to those of the Roman-catholics more than the doctrines of the low church, were in their zenith; and in France, where the ultramontane principles on the power of the Pope had always been discountenanced, the disputes of Jansenism were supposed to reduce it very low. On each side, therefore, the time was thought favourable to the project of the reunion.

It was also favourable to it, that, a few years before this time, an event had taken place, which naturally tended to put both sides into good humour.

On the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Christina of Wolfenbuttell, a Lutheran, with the archduke of Austria, her court consulted the faculty of theology of the University of Helmstadt, on the question, "Whether a Protestant Princess, destined to "marry a catholic prince, could, without wounding her conscience, "embrace the Roman-catholic religion?" The faculty replied, that, "it could not answer the proposed question, in a solid manner, without having previously decided, whether the catholics were or were not engaged in errors, that were fundamental, and opposed to salvation; or, (which was the same thing), whether the state of the catholic church was such, that persons might practice in it the true worship of God, and arrive at salvation." This question the divines of Helmstadt discussed at length; and concluded in these terms: "After having shown, "that the foundation of religion subsists in the Roman-catholic "religion, so that a person may be orthodox in it, live well in it,

"die well in it, and obtain salvation in it, the discussion of the "proposed question is easy. We are, therefore, of opinion, that "the most Serene Princess of Wolfenbuttell may, in favour of her "marriage, embrace the catholic religion." This opinion is dated the 28th of April, 1707, and was printed in the same year at Cologne. The journalists of Trevoux inserted both the original and a French translation of it in their journal of May, 1708.

Under these circumstances the correspondence in question took place. It began in 1718, through Doctor Beauvoir, chaplain to Lord Stair, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Paris. Some conversation on the reunion of the two churches having taken place between Doctor Dupin and him, he acquainted the archbishop of Canterbury with the subject of them. This communication produced some compliments from the archbishop to Dr. Dupin, and these led the latter to address to his grace a letter, in which he mentioned generally, that, on some points in dispute, the supposed difference between the two communions was reconcileable. The correspondence getting wind, Doctor Piers pronounced a discourse in the Sorbonne, in which he earnestly exhorted his colleagues to promote the reunion, by revising those articles of doctrine and discipline, which protestants branded with the name of papal tyranny; and contended, that, by proscribing the ultramontane doctrines, the first step to the reunion would be made. The discourse was communicated to Dr. Wake: in his answer he pressed Dr. Dupin for a more explicit declaration on the leading points in controversy.

In compliance with this requisition, Doctor Dupin drew up his *Commonitorium*, and communicated it to several persons of distinction, both in the state and church of France. He discussed in it the thirty-nine articles, as they regarded doctrine, morality, and discipline. He insisted on the necessity of tradition, to interpret the scriptures, and to establish the canonicity of the books of the Old and New Testament. He insisted on the infallibility of the church in faith and morals; he contended that the sacrifice of the mass was not a simple sacrament, but a continuation of the sacrifice of the cross.

The word transubstantiation, he seemed willing to give up, if

the Roman-catholic doctrine, intended to be expressed by it, were retained. He proposed that communion under both kinds, or under bread alone, should be left to the discretion of the different churches, and consented that persons in holy orders should retain their state, with such provisions as would place the validity of their ordination beyond exception. The marriage of priests in the countries, in which such marriages were allowed, and the recitation of the divine service in the vulgar tongue, he allowed; and intimated that no difficulty would be found in the ultimate settlement of the doctrine respecting purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of saints, relics or images. He seems to have thought that the Pope can exercise no immediate jurisdiction within the dioceses of bishops, and that his primacy invested him with no more than a general conservation of the deposit of the faith, a right to enforce the observance of the sacred canons, and the general maintenance of discipline. He allowed, in general terms, that there was little substantially wrong in the discipline of the Church of England; he deprecated all discussion on the original merit of reformation, and he professed to see no use in the Pope's intervention, till the basis of the negociation should be settled.

The answer of the archbishop was not very explicit. It is evident from it, that they thought the quarrels on Jansenism had alienated the Jansenists and their adherents from the Pope, much more than they had done in reality. He was willing to concede to the Pope a primacy of rank and honour, but would by no means allow him a primacy of jurisdiction, or any primacy by divine right. On the other points, he seemed to have thought that they might come to an agreement on what they should declare to be the fundamental doctrine of the churches, and adopt, on every other point of doctrine, a general system of christian toleration.

The correspondence, which is very interesting, may be seen in the last volume of the English translation of Doctor Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. To facilitate the accomplishment of the object of it, Dr. Courayer published his celebrated treatise on *the Validity of English Ordinations.*

Both Dr. Wake and Dr. Dupin were censured by the members of their respective communions, for the parts which they had taken in this business. Several rigid members of the English Church, and even some foreign protestants blamed Dr. Wake for what they termed his too great concessions. In France, the worst of motives were imputed to Dr. Dupin and his associates; they were accused of making unjustifiable sacrifices in order to form an union between the Jansenists and the members of the English Church. Even the regent took the alarm: he ordered Dr. Dupin to discontinue the correspondence, and to leave all the papers respecting it with the minister. This was done, but the most important of them have been printed in the interesting and extensively circulated publication, which has been mentioned.

V.

Miscellaneous Remarks on the Reunion of Christians.

It does not appear that, subsequently to the communications between Archbishop Wake and Dr. Dupin, any attempts for a general or partial reunion of christians were made in the last century: but, early in the present, *Buonaparte* conceived the project of effecting such a reunion. He is said to have particularly had in view the catholicizing, as it was termed, the northern part of Germany. To forward his design, many works were published: one of them, the Essay sur *l'Unité des Cultes* of M. Bonald, is written with great ingenuity. That Essay, and several others by the same author, were inserted in the *Ambigu* of Peltier, and deserve the attention of every reader. Though they contain some things, to which a Roman Catholic writer

would object, they are evidently written by a Roman Catholic pen.

The first point to be considered by those who meditate the project of reunion is its practicability—those, who are disposed to contend for the affirmative, will observe the number of important articles of Christian Faith, in which all Christians are agreed, and the proportionally small number of those in which any Christians disagree.

All Christians believe, 1st. That there is one God; 2d. That he is a being of infinite perfection; 3d. That he directs all things by his providence; 4th. That it is our duty to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves; 5th. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit; 6th. That God pardons the truly penitent; 7th. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments, when all mankind shall be judged according to their works; 8th. That God sent his Son into the world to be its saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him; 9th. That he is the true Messiah; 10th. That he taught, worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels; 11th. That he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.

In the belief of these articles, all Christians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and Unitarians, are agreed. In addition to these, each division and subdivision of Christians has its own tenets. Now, let each settle among its own members, what are the articles of belief peculiar to them, which, in their cool deliberate judgment, they consider as *absolutely necessary* that a person should believe, to be a member of the church of Christ; let these articles be divested of all foreign matter, and expressed in perspicuous, exact, and unequivocal terms; and, above all, let each distinction of Christians earnestly wish to find an agreement between themselves and their fellow-christians:—the result of a discussion conducted on this plan, would most assuredly be to convince all Christians that the essential articles of religious credence, in which there is a real

difference among Christians, are not so numerous as the verbal disputes and extraneous matter in which controversy is too often involved make them generally thought.

Still,—some articles will remain, the belief of which one denomination of Christians will consider to be the obligation of every Christian, and which other christian denominations will condemn. On some of those, *a speedy* reunion of Christians is not to be expected: but, to use the language of *Mr. Vansittart*, in his excellent letter to the reverend Dr. Marsh and John Coker, Esq., "There is an inferior degree of reunion, more "within our prospect, and yet, perhaps, as perfect as human "infirmity allows us to hope for; wherein, though all differences "of opinion should not be extinguished, yet they may be refined "from all party prejudices and interested views, so softened by "the spirit of charity and mutual concession, and so controuled "by agreement on the leading principles and zeal for the general "interests of christianity, that no sect or persuasion should be "tempted to make religion subservient to secular views, or to "employ political power to the prejudice of others.—The ex-"istence of Dissent will, perhaps, be inseparable from religious "freedom, so long as the mind of man is liable to error: but it "is not unreasonable to hope, that hostility may cease though "perfect agreement cannot be established. IF WE CANNOT "RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US RECONCILE ALL "HEARTS."

These pages cannot be closed better than by these golden words.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 9,	line 7,	for *catholic*,	read	*non-catholic*.
—— 17,	—— 13,	— *patriarch*,	——	*patriarchate*.
—— 69,	—— 23,	— 1652,	——	1562.
—— 96,	—— 2,	— *anabaptists*,	——	*anabaptist*.
—— 132,	—— 17,	— *Dominica*,	——	*Dominicana*.